Daily Report

East Europe

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'Friendship-89' Military Maneuvers Begin in GDR

LD1503115389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1034 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The announced "Friendship-89" troop maneuvers of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, the Polish Army, and the GDR National People's Army began today in the Gardelegen, Haldensleben, Jessen, Dahme, Baruth, and Tangermuende areas. A total of 16,500 members of the three fraternal armies are taking part in the maneuvers, which are commanded by Lieutenant General Mikhail Kalinin, first deputy commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. The aim is to improve training levels as well as to train troops in combined maneuvers.

Warsaw Pact Experts Meeting in Sofia Noted

AU0903195189 Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—A session of the working group of experts of the Warsaw Treaty-member countries was held in Sofia on March 8-9 for analysis of the situation in the Mediterranean and further development of considerations and proposals concerning the ways for its improvement.

Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy foreign affairs minister met the participants in the meeting.

Baka Applauds Prague CEMA Meeting Results

AU1503160889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Mar 89 p 8

[PAP report: "The Conference of Party Economic Secretaries of the CEMA Member States Is Over"]

[Excerpts] Prague—A 2-day conference of Central Committee economic secretaries of the CEMA member states has ended in Prague. It was attended by Wladyslaw Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. [passage omitted]

At the end of the meeting, Wladyslaw Baka told PAP: I have already attended many conferences like this one, but this Prague conference allows me to express cautious optimism. This has been an exceptional display of the great political desire by most of the participating countries to carry out a genuine restructuring of CEMA mechanisms and to reestablish socialist integration. Most participants received Poland's proposals kindly, and right now our proposals are being discussed by working teams. The first results, which take the shape of a silhouette of a common socialist market, should appear by the end of the year, and then increase considerably. An "international operational group to check on the condition of CEMA" will also be appointed. This group will determine the most realistic prospects for this organization.

CEMA Secretary Sychev Greets Leipzig Fair

AU1403174489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 89 p 3

[Message from CEMA to the Leipzig Fair, signed by CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev; date not given]

[Text] CEMA is entering the 5th decade of its existence at a time when questions of intensifying cooperation and fundamentally renewing the mechanism of the links within CEMA are on the agenda, with the objective of solving the socioeconomic tasks by employing the most recent scientific and technological findings.

The new approach to the development of the integration process in the socialist community has been outlined in the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor up to the year 2005. For the time being, CEMA has initiated the implementation of the concept in stages.

It is no exaggeration to say that for the further expansion of cooperation within the CEMA countries, the participation in international fairs is of great importance. The example of the Leipzig Fair is proof of this. I have visited the Leipzig Fair several times, and I could see with my own eyes that this fair has won international recognition as a center where the achievements of scientific-technological progress are demonstrated and where the experience of the CEMA member states in developing industry, agriculture, and other economic sector are promoted for solving social tasks.

The leading topic of this year's Leipzig Spring Fair is flexible automation. Becoming familiar with the achievements in this field and with the results that have been achieved in the CEMA countries will be a contribution to the implementation of the main directions of the comprehensive program for the scientific and technical progress of these countries up to the year 2000, namely, comprehensive automation, which cannot be estimated too highly.

I am convinced that this spring, too, the Leipzig Fair will strengthen its reputation as the most important center for international trade and scientific-technological progress, and that it will make an important contribution to enhancing the international socialist division of labor.

Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary

Cypriot Education Minister Continues Visit

Received by Atanasov

AU1503191189 Sofia BTA in English
1759 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers received today Mr Andreas Khristofidhis, Cyprian minister of education [name as received]. They spoke of the upward development of Bulgaro-Cyprian relations. The fruitful cooperation in the sphere of culture, science and education was stressed, which contributes to the mutual acquaintance of the two peoples.

Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education took part in the talks.

Signs Cooperation Plan

AU1503193489 Sofia BTA in English
1909 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—A plan for scientific and cultural cooperation between the governments of Bulgaria and Cyprus was signed here today.

A new moment in the present document is the stimulating of the scientific contacts which will be in the form of direct contacts between the academies of sciences. Scholarships for training of students will be granted.

For the first time a week of the Bulgarian culture will be organized in Cyprus in September. A week of Cyprus culture in Bulgaria will be held in 1990.

The document was signed by Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education, and Mr Andreas Filippou, minister of education of Cyprus.

Stanishev Confers With Rajiv Gandhi in Delhi

AU1303202889 Sofia BTA in English
1915 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Delhi, March 13 (BTA corr.)—Mr Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India and president of the Indian National Congress (I) [INC] received today Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The Indian leader was greeted cordially on behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, president of the State Council of Bulgaria and in a friendly talk the mutual wish was confirmed for a further development and deepening of relations and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of India, between the BCP and the INC (I), between the Bulgarian and the Indian people. Mr Rajiv Gandhi highly esteemed relations between the two countries and sent warmest greetings to Mr Todor Zhivkov and wishes for successes and prosperity of the Bulgarian people.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev met in Delhi with the general secretaries of the All-Indian Committee of the party of the Indian National Congress (I) Mr Ghulam Nabi and Mr Kedar Nath Singh. At the meeting they agreed a protocol for cooperation between the BCP and the INC (I) planning the expansion of interparty relations and deepening of interrelations between the two parties to the interest of friendly relations between Bulgaria and India, for building of a violence- and nuclear weapon-free world, for democracy and social progress.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev met today with the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (CPI-Marxist) Mr Namboodiripad. At the meeting they exchanged opinions for the further development of relations and cooperation between the two parties.

Lukanov Leaves for Balkan Talks in Ankara

AU1403173589 Sofia BTA in English
1714 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—A Bulgarian delegation, led by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, left for Ankara today to attend a meeting of the ministers of economic affairs and foreign trade of the Balkan countries. The two-day meeting will consider questions concerning inter-Balkan business cooperation.

Dissident Minev on Hunger Strike for 58 Days

AU1603102889 Vienna DER STANDARD in German
16 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Vienna/Sofia—According to Bulgarian exile circles in Vienna, Wednesday [15 March] was the 58th day of the hunger strike held by Bulgarian human rights activist Iliya Minev (72) in his apartment in the town of Septemvri, near Plovdiv. He has already lost 26 kg and now weighs only 40 kg; his condition is extremely serious. Minev has spent 31 years in prison and is now struggling for the legalization of the Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights, of which he is chairman. Furthermore, he wants to achieve the release of social democratic dissident Yanko Yankov, who has been in prison for 5 years.

Correspondent Relates Views on CSSR Dissidents

AU1403134389 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
No 11, 13 Mar 89 p 11

[Article by Lyubomir Khristov, BTA correspondent in Prague, "Special for POGLED": "Wenceslas Square and What Happens Around It"]

[Text] This happened 1 month ago. The stoker who is in charge of the heating installations in the buildings next door is a young man, approximately 25 years old. I meet him often. We just greet each other, and no more. This time, however, he stopped me and abruptly attacked me with his questions:

"You are a journalist, aren't you?"

"Yes."

"What do you Communists think about the demonstrations at Wenceslas Square? We Chartists..."

I was amazed and became alert. Before I could answer, however, he added, talking very fast:

"We want freedom, we want freedom to express our opinions. We do not trust the government. We want reforms. You must write more than our newspapers report."

I must admit that this unexpected defense of the so-called "Charter '77," which is pretending to defend human rights, infuriated me. This is why I attacked him in turn:

"Everyone knows that your "charter" has nothing in common with the people or with socialism. Do you read your papers carefully?"

"No, but I was told...."

"RUDE PRAVO, for example, writes that 700 cultural figures in Prague have sent a letter to the prime minister in defense of Vaclav Havel."

"Yes, and another 300 joined them."

I did not ask him where he had heard this.

Only a week earlier, a similar "stoker" admitted on television that he had made anonymous telephone calls to the security organs warning them that a bomb would explode the next morning at the "Museum" subway station. The station was closed at the given hour. Fortunately, the fire experts did not discover anything. However, the false alarm of this new "telephone terrorist" caused a delay for 80,000 passengers and a financial loss amounting to Kcs 100,000 to the subway administration. The stoker, however, just wanted to test whether the security organs are ready for action.

Such are the "freedom fighters" who sent the "Charter" supporters and their spokesman Vaclav Havel to Wenceslas Square. This made it necessary to adopt additional legal measures for the protection of public order. Not only did the terms of the sentences for such actions increase, from 3 to 5 months and from 6 months to 1 year of detention, but the fines tripled as well—they may even amount to Kcs 20,000. For the first time, the Penal Code makes provision for sanctions against "the compilation, multiplication, and distribution of printed matter, the contents of which encroach upon the interests of the socialist state and disrupt the public order."

As Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, declared: Certain antisocialist forces and various groups have recently become active, trying to form an alliance and present themselves as the opposition. The new characteristic feature of these forces is that they are advocating open confrontation, including the effort to exert psychological pressure, threats, and even psychological terror against people who are on the side of socialism and publicly denounce these forces.

The events took place around 15 January—the anniversary of the tragic death of the student Jan Palach, who in 1968 burned himself to death in Wenceslas Square, "protesting" against the repression of the "Prague Spring." Once again, the demonstration was banned for the sake of public order, but also for purely humanitarian reasons. In a letter addressed to Vaclav Havel, which was handed over to Radio Free Europe in advance, an unknown student wrote that he supports the "Charter," and that on 15 January, at the place where the demonstraters were allegedly supposed to lay flowers, another living human torch would be burning. Following a warning of the public prosecutor that he would be arrested if he continues to instigate provocations, Vaclav Havel was sent to prison. For more than 1 week, the "independent" ones tried to stage new provocations in the afternoon hours, which were resolutely and unanimously denounced by the entire public.

The Czechoslovak press gave an exhaustive answer to numerous questions and to the backstage manipulations of the "domestic emigration" and about its close relations with Radio Free Europe and other supporters in the West who are, with all means, trying to create the impression that this is a "mass movement," that the number of those "dissatisfied" with the regime is growing. These people are trying to cause unrest, to divert others from the restructuring and democratization process, and last, but not least, to achieve the political rehabilitation of those who led the country to the 1968 crisis—this is the final goal of their efforts.

Nearly all illegal groups established under the conductor's baton of the "Charter" and financed by all kinds of "charity" organizations in the West, as well as by the emigres of the "Prague Spring" who are living there, appeared during the demonstrations at Wenceslas Square. Such organizations are: The Civil Liberties Movement, the Independent Peace Association, the John Lennon World Club, the Democratic Initiative, the Society for Friendship with the United States, the Children of Bohemia....

Behind these colorful names which demagogically remind us of the "third basket," we may discover some old acquaintances who are hiding and trying to find a pretext for their rehabilitation. However, many young

people who have no political experience or are just manipulated by the pseudo-slogans for freedom from a not very remote past can be found among the supporters of such organizations.

Frantisek Melichar, a 68-year old pensioneer from Prague-5, was one of the most vociferous demonstrators at Wenceslas Square on 19 January, and this at an hour of the day when other people of his age are quietly watching television at home or peacefully drinking their beer in some other place.

According to RUDE PRAVO, Melichar was the manager of the "Ultraform" store in Teplice toward the end of the forties. During the first half of the fifties he was recruited by the Western intelligence services. He worked well and was generously rewarded. However, Melichar's espionage group was unmasked. Released from prison in 1968, he once more "joined the barricades." This time he was a member and leader of the notorious Club 231, which pursued the goal of a counterrevolutionary coup and the establishment of a "white terror" regime.

Vaclav Havel, another "human rights fighter," is the son of parents who once owned the well-known "Lucerna" shopping area, including 30 stores, coffee shops, night clubs, cinemas, restaurants, and...a secret gestapo office. Havel is well known (in the West) as a "talented playwright," for which he received the "Erasmus of Rotterdam" Prize in 1987, and the "modest" amount of DM 88,000 in addition to it.

As ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY reported, foreign currency worth 370,000 Tuzex Kcs (similar to our KOREKOM exchange vouchers) was transferred through various channels over the last 10 months of 1988 from unknown sources in Sweden for the most active "Chartists" in Prague.

The second charity center is situated not far from Munich, where Precan, a notorious CSSR refugee, is in residence. He has dispatched an amount of approximately DM 100,000 to Czechoslovakia in the last 4 years. He has also sent a large number of gifts, such as tape recorders, computers, video-cameras, and other specialized technical equipment. The events at Wenceslas Square eloquently showed what purpose these gifts were supposed to serve.

I am tempted in closing my article to cite part of an open letter to RUDE PRAVO, sent by the party organization of the "Visocany" central heating station in Prague-9. Expressing their respect for actors, writers, poets, and artists, to "those of you who are making our lives pleasant with your art," the workers wrote: "Entitled by your rights as free citizens, you expressed your opinions on Vaclav Havel in a letter to the CSSR Government leader. The fact that you managed to collect a few hundred signatures within such a short time reflects your unanimity and your capacity of promptly reacting to topical issues. We live in one and the same country and we enjoy various rights. The laws equally apply to all of us. We are confident that our legal organs will justly deal with the Havel case.

"Nevertheless, we ask ourselves, where was your organizational skill, where was your voice of protest, when the graves of our liberators were violated at the Olsany Cemetery in 1988? Why did you keep silent about the terrorist action in Usti Nad Labem? Where was your voice of protest denouncing the violators of law and order? Do such events not affect you?

"We do not write this letter to criticize you, because we believe in you as the flower of our socialist intelligentsia, and we await your support in the joint efforts of introducing law and order in our cities."

Congress of Scientific Workers Union Opens

AU1403173789 Sofia BTA in English 1631 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The restructuring of science is an important part of the innovation of the social, economic and cultural life in Bulgaria. The fourth congress of the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria is discussing the main guidelines to be followed for raising the role of the union in the reform implemented in the country.

The Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria was established in 1944. Today it has more than 11,000 individual members— eminent scientists and specialists in all fundamental and applied sciences. The union has 31 collective members—specialized scientists' organizations uniting 83 thousand people. Attracting young scientific workers is a serious problem—only 20 per cent of the union's members are under 40 years of age, it is pointed out in the report of the Presidium of the union, presented by Academician Lyubomir Iliev, vice president of the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

But the union has not yet turned into an active protector of the professional and creative interests of its members. There is a growing tendency towards red tape in its bodies and activities and not all generations of scientific workers are equally represented in the governing bodies. Pointing out the weaknesses in the union's work, the speaker underlined that the organization of scientists should undergo radical changes: democratization at all "hierarchical levels", reduction of the size of the governing bodies, limitation of the number of terms in holding office and self-management of the primary units of the union with the purpose of creating the prerequisites for switching over to a federative structure.

The congress is going on.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1400 GMT on 14 March, in reporting the opening of the congress, adds that "Comrades Yordan Yotov, Nacho Papazov, and Deputy State Council Chairman Yaroslav Radev are taking part."]

Jakes Discusses Upcoming SRV Visit With Envoy
LD1403232689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received in Prague Nguyen Phu Soai, SRV ambassador to Czechoslovakia. They discussed the issues of the all-around development of Czechoslovak-Vietnamese relations in connection with the upcoming friendly working visit by Milos Jakes to Vietnam.

Stepan Receives United Kingdom Ambassador
LD1303180889 Prague CTK in English 1633 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)—Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of the People of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Miroslav Stepan received here today Ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Peter Laurence O'Keefe.

The two representatives discussed the level of contacts between the Czechoslovak and British parliaments and stressed that both parliaments are interested in maintaining their mutual relations.

Miroslav Stepan pointed out that the development of foreign trade between the two countries has been unsatisfactory so far though it has increased moderately in the last few years (the 1988 turnover was 663.7 million dollars). The possibilities of its further growth consist in the elimination of restrictive measures, in extension of industrial cooperation, establishment of joint ventures and extension of cooperation on third markets. Cultural exchanges are also important for further development of all-round contacts and mutual understanding between the two countries.

Miroslav Stepan recalled the Czechoslovak initiative for the strengthening of confidence and good neighbourly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO as well as the Czechoslovak ecological initiative. The results of the Vienna follow-up meeting were also mentioned in the discussion.

Party Delegation Returns From Visit to Hungary
AU1403152089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 89 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A study delegation of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by Vladimir Kozic, chief of the Central Committee's Political-Organizational Department, paid a visit to Hungary from 6 to 10 March. The delegation was received by Janos Lukacs, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

Vaclavik, Army Group Meets Youth Unionists
LD1503105689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] The command of the Czechoslovak People's Army, headed by Army General Milan Vaclavik, held talks in Prague today with the leadership of the Central Committee of the Social Youth Union. Stanislav Benda reports:

[Benda] Comrade Vasil Mohorita highly praised the meeting of the members of the Socialist Youth Union with the representatives of our Army. He said that the young generation has a high level of interest in our Armed Forces, especially with regard to the disarmament steps taken by individual countries of the Warsaw Pact, including Czechoslovakia. He said that young people support the adopted measures and most of them are aware that the Army must secure the defense of our country. He also discussed the wishes and comments of young people, for example that the fathers of families who are conscripts in the Army would be able to meet their families more often, or that they could serve in the Army, in their home localities.

Comrade Milan Vaclavik told the Social Youth Union members that so far, NATO has not joined the disarmament initiatives of the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, we cannot yet plan to shorten the length of military service or make other concessions. With regard to time off for soldiers, he quoted Order 13 which prescribes exactly the length of time allowed off: 2 ½ hours on weekdays, 7 hours on Saturday, and 10 hours on Sunday. He also discussed one of the demands of the Socialist Youth Union members: the possibilty for soldiers with serious family or social ties to be placed in their own localities. An order to this effect from the chief of the General Staff has already been valid since 1 January this year. With regard to prolonging vacations for soldiers, it seems that they have not been well informed, as rules and provisions enable the commanders of military units to prolong vacations by 5 days depending on the precise nature of the service, to grant a special vacation to 7 days, or to grant an unpaid vacation, during which no financial requirements can be made of between 1 and 4 weeks.

The comrade minister emphasized that they are ready to tackle problems burdening young soldiers in carrying out their duties.

At the end of the meeting with the members of the Central Committee of the Social Youth Union, I asked Comrade Milan Vaclavik for a short assessment of the meeting:

[Begin Vaclavik recording] I think that this meeting was very useful and beneficial for both sides. We each explained our attitudes and discussed further steps which must be taken to tackle the problems of young people in the Army, and also other young people. We also discussed means of influencing public opinion, how

to work with young people, and which new elements should be introduced into the administrative work of primary organizations and of commanders in implementing the resolutions of the Socialist Youth Union Congress and those measures which were worked out on the basis of Congress' resolutions for the Czechoslovak People's Army. Comrades spoke openly and criticially and we each voiced our views. We shall assess the results and after some time we shall meet again to evaluate the progress we are making in our work with young people. [end recording]

Human Rights Groups Meet in Prague, Hold Talks
AU1503081289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "On Humanitarian Questions"]

[Text] Prague—In Prague, during this week, a delegation from the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights held talks with members of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation. Zbynek Vokrouhlicky, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak committee, said about the course of the meeting, among other things: "The visit by the members of the International Helsinki Federation to the CSSR was our first contact with this institution. The aim was to get to know each other, to explain what each organization does, and on the basis of that, to gradually develop mutual cooperation in the sphere of human rights and on humanitarian questions.

"On the agenda were completely concrete questions connected with the consequences that the January events had for certain persons. We explained our committee's views to the International Helsinki Federation and the fact that these people were convicted under valid Czechoslovak laws and that they were afforded all the rights to a defense.

"We agreed that we have managed to jointly create prerequisites for the development of cooperation in this sensitive area."

Obzina Interviewed on Improving CEMA Activity
AU1503145989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Mar 89 p 6

[Interview with Jaromir Obzina, deputy premier and permanent CSSR representative to CEMA, by Czechoslovak radio reporter Vladimir Gulas, in Bratislava: "A Common Market of Socialist Countries—An Economic Necessity; Interview With Jaromir Obzina, Deputy Premier, on Improving the Activity of CEMA"; date of interview not given]

[Text] At the All-School Conference on the 40th Anniversary of the Foundation of CEMA at the Economics College in Bratislava, Jaromir Obzina, federal deputy premier and permanent CSSR representative to CEMA, presented the main paper. During this occasion he afforded Vladimir Gulas, a Czechoslovak radio reporter and our associate, the following interview.

[Gulas] In the socialist community concrete measures have been launched to improve efficiency in all spheres of cooperation. First of all, the restructuring of the mechanism of CEMA activity was initiated. What is the hitherto situation?

[Obzina] At present, a working group within the Czechoslovak Government is preparing the first working version of our concept of restructuring the management mechanism which, during the course of this year, will be discussed in CEMA along with the versions from the other fraternal countries. From this working version a final proposal should emerge which ought to be approved at the 46th or 47th session of the council.

[Gulas] What kind of concrete proposals did the CSSR put forward at the recent 130th meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee?

[Obzina] CSSR activity was extraordinarily great because our representatives spoke on a large number of the 20 questions which were discussed: on questions from the finance-foreign exchange sphere, on the sphere of the comprehensive program of scientific and technical progress, on the cultural sphere, and on other questions. Besides that, we put forward several important proposals. Concerning questions of the determination of prices, we supported the Soviet proposal that we should strive to speedily introduce current world prices into our mutual relations. Regarding the finance-foreign exchange problem, we contributed the proposal that we should resolve the real exchange rates of our currencies, that we should accelerate the process of changing over from the transferable ruble to a collective real currency, convertible at least within the socialist community, and gradually, over a period of several years, convertible on world markets. We put forward a complete concept of suggestions in relation to the material-technical base and the development of culture which were adopted with minor comments.

[Gulas] Concerning the issue of the development of direct links between enterprises of member states, in the communique from the above mentioned meeting it is only briefly mentioned that it is necessary to increase the influence of these methods on solving problems of research and development progress. How will an increase of this influence be achieved?

[Obzina] A basic issue which is connected to this is the issue of determining prices. We have 330 agreements on direct links with Soviet enterprises, scientific-manufacturing associations, and research institutes. We also have several dozen agreements on direct links with the other fraternal socialist countries. However, their effect is relatively small; it does not exceed even 1 percent of the turnover between the CSSR and the USSR. This is

because the determination of prices and foreign currency exchange rates are for one state or another, mainly for us, disadvantageous. In such cases, certainly we cannot request managers to conclude such trade transactions or agreements because no one will reimburse the losses which would arise from this. A basic condition of the development of direct links, then, is the synchronization of prices and links.

[Gulas] At the 130th meeting of the Executive Committee the improvement of the information flow concerning the work and the meetings of the council was discussed. What is it necessary to do in this area?

[Obzina] For the first time this question was placed on the agenda. The CSSR completely supported it and put forward a number of suggestions. These involved, in particular, the establishing of a press center at CEMA, the acceptance of the accredited journalists from socialist and other countries who would systematically and truthfully be briefed on the situation in such a way that they would have the opportunity to affect public opinion. At the same time, we recommended that an official informational bulletin on CEMA activity be issued regularly. Of course, there were proposals for reducing the secrecy of certain data which we also regard as being correct and which we supported. The important thing is that we should evaluate the positive aspects and the shortcomings which in CEMA are on a responsible, professional level.

[Gulas] Comrade Deputy Premier, how do you evaluate the possibility of creating a common market of socialist states on the basis of CEMA?

[Obzina] It is not only my opinion but the official view of the CSSR that the creation of a single or common market of the CEMA socialist countries is an economic necessity and inevitability which will be achieved. At issue is only how we will help this process along, whether we will accelerate it, or whether we will slow it down. We want to help it, we want to speed up the process. In order for us to manage this we must concentrate on solving important questions in two stages:

In the first stage—within the next 5-7 years—the issue will be, first and foremost, resolving basic problems concerning the adequate amount of goods in national markets and the creation of sufficient financial and material resources for international links. In the second stage, it will be necessary to get to the point, at least in certain commodities, where each of the socialist countries will offer goods which it will be possible to freely exchange, not on contractual principles but on the open market. Here, however, we are not only talking about goods but also about services, construction, and the free movement of the labor force. At the same time, this requires the creation of a definite base for solving socio-political questions, constructing a uniform currency and customs system. In order to solve problems arising out of the 44th meeting of CEMA, particularly the problem of a single common market (because at issue are extraordinarily important questions, not only economic ones but also socio-political ones), within the first half of this year a meeting of responsible party representatives and representatives of fraternal communist and workers parties will probably take place in Prague, at which the further progress and concretization of the prepared solutions, within the framework of CEMA as a whole as well as from the point of view of the contribution of each CEMA country, will be discussed. We want to prepare responsibly for this meeting. The fact that we are to be the host country obliges us to do this.

[Gulas] The comprehensive program for the CEMA countries' scientific and technical progress through the year 2000 matches the West European EUREKA project by almost 80 percent. If at least part of the potential of both communities were united, the research and development progress would be significantly accelerated. Also, French President F. Mitterrand, during a visit to our country, called for joint work, for participation in solving several problems, as did other representatives....

[Obzina] I know this problem very well. I myself had the opportunity to discuss it in France with the appropriate responsible ministers and entrepreneurial circles. We welcome the point of view of the French president because it represents a great step forward. Two years ago EUREKA was still being talked about as a closed organization which only individual enterprises could enter. As far as socialist enterprises were concerned, there were practically none—enterprises from only two socialist countries applied and these were rejected. Since that time progress is evident. Now we must quickly find suitable enterprises because EUREKA is based on the principle of their cooperation and not on the basis of state agreements. Some time ago we suggested at least two or three areas in which points of contact could be possible. Negotiations are under way but, in the meantime, there are no concrete results. We are firmly convinced that this project will bring about a result and, therefore, we will support it.

[Gulas] Recently in the Soviet specialist press views have surfaced on the possible participation of the USSR in world financial and monetary organizations, in particular the IMF and the World Bank. Were these issues discussed on the CEMA platform? What is the Czechoslovak approach?

[Obzina] We are studying this problem, not that it is a new one for us because we had certain contacts in this sphere in the past. In the given situation, we consider a joint step by the CSSR and the USSR the only effective solution to these relations because it [the USSR] could have a good position in these organizations, thanks to the strength of its economy and finances. It is known that in these organs decisions are made according to economic and other financial indicators. The contribution of the USSR and a joint approach with the USSR could be a new important factor for decisionmaking in the future.

Mevald, Urbanek Address Consultative Meeting

AU1503173589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Vaclav Pergl report: "Creating an Atmosphere of Irreconcilability Toward Manifestions of Departmentalism and Administrative Approaches; Consultative Meeting of Chairmen of All-Enterprise Committees and Primary Organizations of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Central Agencies, Organizations, and Institutions"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—A consultative meeting of chairmen of all-enterprise party committees and primary organizations from central agencies, organizations, and institutions was held at the Advanced School of Politics of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee in Prague on Saturday [11 March]. It dealt with the party's current tasks prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress. [passage omitted]

Opening the meeting Jozef Mevald, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, said, among other things, that the impact of party organizations on the activity of central agencies falls short of the high demands that are currently placed on party work. This is manifested in many ways, particularly in the inconsistent enforcement of the orientation toward intensive national economic development, application of advances of research and development, and implementation of measures aimed at raising the economic effectiveness of the wage system as well as in the inconsistent approach to the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The solution of questions concerning the development of individual branches and sectors, the dovetailing of plans, and supplier-user relations is tediously slow and, in lieu of a specific solution of practical problems, there are unnecessary interventions in the legal powers of the lower links of management and regulation of their activities through an excessive number of decrees, bylaws, and directives. [passage omitted]

Many party organizations in the central agencies lack the necessary fighting spirit and sense of purpose in creating an atmosphere of irreconcilability toward manifestations of narrow departmentalism and excessive paperwork in the apparatus of agencies and institutions and in its dealings with their subordinate bodies. [passage omitted]

Comrade Mevald said that at branch ministries and other economic institutions there is perhaps no membership or party committee meeting that would not broach problems of the national economy. The problem is, however, that one takes note of existing problems instead of coping with them. In personal relationships, the spirit of colleagueship at some places prevails over a high-principled approach to problems and their bearers and the element of criticism is absent from these relations. Bold decisionmaking is being replaced by caution and a "desk officer's" approach to the fulfillment of tasks and initiative by servility. There is little courage and determination to bid farewell to the conformist way of life.

We also expect communists among senior officials and CPCZ all-enterprise committees and primary organizations to take effective measures to ensure the plan for this year and the next. These should be measures of principle guaranteeing the fulfillment of tasks.

The plan for 1989 provides for a 2.2 percent growth of gross national income, compared with the adjusted state plan for 1988, and the plan for 1990 for a 3.0 percent growth, compared with the 1989 plan. On aggregate this means that even if we manage to reach the tasks and targets of the last 2 years of the 5-year plan, national income growth for the entire 5-year period will represent around Kcs80 billion, and compared with the projected growth by almost Kcs120 billion (compared with the planned dynamics of 19 percent, we will reach a growth rate of roughly 14 percent). The adverse development in the generation of resources results mainly from the fact that the growth of social productivity of labor has been lower than the task laid down by the congress.

In drawing up the draft plan, the sectors have once again been applying their traditional approaches and demanding greater inputs and lower tasks, which testifies to their failure to comprehend the gist of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. A positive feature of the draft plan is its orientation at compliance with the tasks of the congress in the area of living standards. [passage omitted]

In the precongress period, the need is coming to the fore to get rid of methods that hamstring initiative and activity. Providing political guidance is more difficult and complicated [than employing such methods]. Work with the people is now the main thing. It is also a way of overcoming subjectivism and one-sided and not properly thought out decisions in party work in the central agencies and of helping, through an exchange of opinions, to work out conceptual issues. [passage omitted]

As the response to the "Proclamation" [of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium issued on the 41st anniversary of "Victorious February"] shows, the working people support party policy and are in favor of restructuring, Comrade Mevald said in conclusion. They demand peace and quiet for creative work and reject attempts to disrupt our joint efforts. We will not give anyone the chance to dismantle socialism. The document "Lessons" is valid. We must draw experience for the present as well from it. We will always be intent on enlisting people who link their fate with the fate of socialism. This is why it is so important to exercise an open policy for the people and with the people.

Much space was given to the discussion. Its participants spoke about how best to implement the conclusions of the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in the conditions of central agencies and institutions. [passage omitted]

Winding up the meeting, Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, said that this consultative meeting is the first of its kind after many years. It helped to unite the course of action in implementing the main tasks arising from the role of the center.

Everywhere it is necessary to develop the ideas of the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee, to enforce forms of political guidance, and create conditions for wide-ranging internal party democracy. Communists must not be indifferently silent on developments and manifestations at their place of work. Their duty is to show initiative and work toward the implementation of party resolutions, to guide everyone toward a responsible fulfillment of his functions, to wage a struggle against formalism and bureaucratism, and to show greater courage in analyzing the causes of shortcomings. Through ideological work they must help fulfill current tasks. However, they must also show that restructuring has its development stages that must not be skipped or ignored. It is necessary not to dodge answers to any question, but a struggle must also be waged against forces that would like to slow down or reverse restructuring.

We are paying close attention to the forthcoming annual meetings. For party committees we propose only people who are fighters for restructuring, command authority in their labor collective, and provide a guarantee that the new ideas will be converted into deeds. This is also a way of creating an exacting atmosphere in central agencies and institutions, an atmosphere in which everyone will be the right person for his job.

The participants in the consultative meeting supported the idea to hold such meetings and described them as necessary in the future.

Parts of the session were attended by Comrade Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague party organization.

First Ambassador to EEC Presents Credentials

LD1303162989 Prague CTK in English
1543 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Brussels March 13 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Ambassador to the European Communities Karel Lukas handed his credentials here today to acting President of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities Pedro Solbes Miro.

In the next few days, the Czechoslovak representative is to present his credentials to the president of the Commission of the European Communities, which will be the last necessary official step in the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and the EEC and for a Czechoslovak mission to the Communities to start operating.

After official ties were established between the EEC and the CMEA last June, credentials have already been presented by heads of Hungarian, Soviet and GDR missions. A greater scope is gradually being created for the expansion of political and economic cooperation between the EEC and the CMEA member-states at all levels.

Treaty Ratification Papers Exchanged With Poland

AU1403164189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Pavel Sadovsky, first CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the CSSR, in Prague on Friday [10 March] exchanged ratification papers on the treaty between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic on legal assistance and the arrangement of legal ties in civil, family, labor, and penal code matters, signed in Warsaw on 21 December 1987. The treaty will take effect 9 April 1989.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Afghan Situation

LD1103175489 Prague CTK in English
1543 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia watches with concern the present developments in Afghanistan where an armed conflict continues and opposition groups are putting obstacles in the way of a solution to this acute regional problem, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivan Kulhanek said today.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have honourably fulfilled their obligations under the Geneva agreements. The Soviet Union also expressed the resolve to continue actively working for a stable political settlement in Afghanistan. However, actions of the other signatories, who support the armed struggle of the extreme opposition, is in stark contrast with the consistent attitude of the USSR.

The Afghan Government too has taken measures for an allround implementation of the Geneva accords and a halt to the fratricidal war. Opposition forces replied to its constructive proposals for a ceasefire and an all-Afghan dialogue with threats and an escalation of armed actions which mean new human casualties and material damage.

A recent statement by the so-called interim government is another step of the opposition aimed at the escalation of the conflict. It cannot lead to normalization. Peace in Afghanistan can be achieved on the basis of national reconciliation, by overcoming disputes, finding mutually acceptable compromises and creating a state administration in which all political forces of Afghan society would be represented, the Czechoslovak spokesman said.

Mikhail Gorbachev's Book Published by Government

AU1403153089

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 13 March carries on page 3 a 1,700-word article by Teodor Hudecek headlined "Pondering the First Volume of the Selection of M. Gorbachev's Speeches and Articles; To Think, To Have Courage, To Create."

Hudecek states that the first of three planned volumes, published by the PRAVDA publishing house this year, deals with the "complex and demanding period of Soviet society's development—the years 1967 to 1983." He states that articles addressing problems connected with the intensification and efficiency of agricultural production and the realization of the food program have an important place in this volume.

Closing his review, Hudecek notes that "M. Gorbachev's speeches and articles from the 1967-83 period are the mirror of that time, but not a simplified or passive mirror. They react creatively to the needs of that time, to social interests; they seek and find ways to overcome shortcomings and dynamize social and economic development, and in many respects anticipate what has become the ideological and theoretical point of procedure for the restructuring of Soviet society."

Government Spokesman Comments on Environment

LD1403233989 Prague CTK in English 1905 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—Participants in the meeting of government experts from central European countries neighbouring on Czechoslovakia on the creation and protection of the environment welcomed the initiative of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec to hold a meeting of prime ministers of Czechoslovakia's neighbours to debate the possibilities of environmental protection in central Europe, Czechoslovak Government spokesman Miroslav Pavel said at a briefing here today.

The meeting of experts from Hungary, Austria, West Germany, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was ended by the adoption of a press release, a joint communique and a memorandum for a planned meeting of seven ministers in May which should precede the meeting of central European prime ministers, Miroslav Pavel said and added: "There exists unequivocal willingness to discuss questions of the environment and search for possible solutions. The Czechoslovak side considers the discusions very successful".

The meeting of experts from seven central European countries took place after a very long time but is the necessary first step towards the planned meeting of prime ministers of central European governments on ecological questions.

During their meeting the experts exchanged information and experiences concerning cooperation of the participating states in the sphere of improving the environment. They also submitted concrete themes which could become the subject of bilateral or multilateral cooperation, Miroslav Pavel said.

CPCZ Education Commission Meets in Prague

AU1403165689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Education Commission Meets"]

[Text] Prague—Under the chairmanship of Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, the CPCZ Central Committee Education Commission met in Prague. The commission discussed material prepared for the CPCZ Central Committee meeting on educational matters. During the discussion, members of the commission turned their attention to information gained by regional party organs from the long-running public discussion on the analysis of the Czechoslovak educational system. The commission adopted a procedure for the concrete utilization of comments and suggestions sent to the CPCZ Central Committee.

Another Anonymous Telephone Caller Exposed

AU1403164989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 89 p 2

["(mis)"-signed report: "A Further Source of an Anonymous Telephone Call Exposed"]

[Text] Litomerice (from our own correspondent)—On Monday 6 March at 2118 an anonymous telephone caller informed the operations center of the district police station in Litomerice that an explosive had been placed in the Druzba restaurant in Litomerice. Members of the police force evacuated the entire area and carried out a search: Fortunately, the threat turned out to be a false one.

In subsequent days members of the police force exposed the source of the anonymous telephone call. It is 21-year-old B. Z. from Litomerice, unemployed at the present time. He has already been convicted twice in the past and returned from his last stay in prison in December of last year. As the motive for his deed, about which he had

previously informed friends in the pub, he mentioned the fact that he wanted to make fun of members of the police force. the court will put a full stop to the whole case.

Uncensored Photo Exhibition Planned in Prague
AU1403152389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 March on page 5 carries a 300-word "JM"-signed article entitled "Salon of Contemporary Photography" which deals with events planned in Czechoslovakia this year to mark the 150th anniversary of the invention of photography. The article mentions that, in addition to two large "selective" exhibitions of photographic art, a "A Salon of Czechoslovak Photography" will be held in Julius Fucik Park in Prague between July and September. According to the author, "no conditions will be attached to participation in the salon; any CSSR citizen who takes photographs can take part, regardless of his profession or membership in an association, club, group, or the like. Participation in the exhibition is free also in the sense that it will not be restricted by a jury's interventions. Everyone will have the chance to rent an exhibition area of between 1 and 4 square meters." In conclusion, the article invites would-be participants to send their applications to the Czech Fine Artists' Association by 31 March.

Exhibition of Unreliable Computers Ends
AU1503113689 Prague PRACE in Czech 14 Mar 89 p 3

["rh"-signed article in the "notes" column: "Advertising Rejects?!"]

[Text] The Datasystem'89 exhibition, which ended in Bratislava on Saturday [11 March], attracted interested people from all corners of the republic, particularly those who have been looking in vain for personal computers or quality calculators in shops. Only representatives of clubs or other special-interest organizations left satisfied. Despite advertising, orders from private citizens were not accepted. Disappointed individuals could not possibly suspect that this was actually for their own good. They would have comprehended this if they had been informed, as the journalists were at the traditional get-together with Datasystem representatives, that they—the Datasystem representatives—would not vouch for the quality of a single exhibited item. The manufacturers do not guarantee the 100-percent reliable functioning of a single (!) product. Therefore, I wonder whether such an exhibition is not actually a swindle. To exhibit something today one must offer highly advanced, quality, and reliable products. After all, we want to compare ourselves with the rest of the world. Well, the computer manufacturers do have one world primacy, after all. Advertising rejects is certainly a unique thing in the world.

Further on Meetings, Events at Leipzig Fair

More Contracts Concluded

AU1503161289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[Text] Leipzig (ND)—The 2d day of the Leipzig Fair was also characterized by lively negotiations and the conclusion of further important contracts. For example, the machine tools and tools export-import foreign trade enterprise and its Soviet partner enterprise agreed on mutual deliveries valued at R190 million for 1989. The machine tool industry will supply computer- and numerically-controlled machine tools, and technological solutions for sheet metal and solid forming, and for elastic-plastic processing.

Another important area involves flexible automatic systems for small and medium-sized enterprises, and flexible systems for the automation of technological processes for large-scale series production in the metalworking industry. The Soviet Union will provide the GDR economy with turning machines, machining centers, machines for bulk machining, wood-working machines, and computer- and numerically-controlled tools.

On the basis of the annual protocol, agriculture in the GDR will receive 1,120 MTS 570 tractors, to be supplied for the first time this year by the USSR.

The Household Electric Appliances foreign trade enterprise, the Ruhla Vehicle Electric Components Combine, and the Volkswagen Company signed a long-term agreement on the delivery of electric vehicle components to the FRG automobile enterprise. In accordance with this, headlights, windshield-wipers, multitone horns, starters, and other products will be supplied by the GDR combine.

GDR foreign trade enterprises also concluded comprehensive export and import contracts with Austrian firms. Among other things, the GDR will supply metallurgical products and ship fittings, and will receive approximately 12,000 leather garments, 100,000 meters of cloth, shoes, leather articles, cocoa, chocolate products, table wine, tea, and instant coffee.

The Chemical Plant Export-Import foreign trade enterprise sold 125 milk evaporators to the USSR Selkhospromexport enterprise. These facilities are used for the production of sweetened evaporated milk and other dairy products, and will be delivered by the Erfurt-Rudisleben Chemical Plant Construction enterprise next year. The enterprise has exported such facilities to the Soviet Union since 1951, and handed over the 3,000th unit last year. The Electrotechnology Export-Import foreign trade enterprise and Selkhospromexport also agreed on the delivery of greenhouse air-conditioners from the State-Enterprise Automation Combine in 1990.

The GDR will export two alternating-current testing systems to the PRC cities of Quinghai and Shanghai in 1990. An agreement to this effect was signed by the Electrotechnology foreign trade enterprise and the China Machinery Import-Export Corporation. The Railroad Rolling Stock Export-Import foreign trade enterprise and the Polish Kolmex foreign trade enterprise agreed on the delivery of 70 railroad passenger cars next year. The cars, produced by the Goerlitz Waggon Construction Enterprise, are equipped with a pivoted bogie so that they can also be used at high speeds.

The GDR will supply marine diesel engines and marine sets to the USSR in 1990, valued at R25 million and supplied by the Magdeburg "Karl Liebknecht" Heavy Machinery Construction Combine. The Polygraph foreign trade enterprise concluded contracts with USSR, Polish, and FRG enterprises on the export of Planeta sheet-fed offset machines.

On Monday [13 March] the scientific-technological program of events of the 1989 Leipzig Spring Fair started with 50 technical lectures. The Chamber of Technology is inviting people to attend more than 200 technical lectures, to be held until Friday [17 March].

Soviet Delegation Departs

AU1503160089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Soviet Government delegation to the Leipzig Spring Fair, headed by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, concluded its stay in the GDR trade metropolis by visiting exhibitors from socialist countries.

Pior to that, the delegation had been acquainted with what was on offer from the GDR machine tool construction industry and the "Ernst Thaelmann" Heavy Machinery Combine, Magdeburg.

Dr Rudi Georgi, minister of construction of machine tools and processing machinery, pointed out the decades of successful cooperation between the two countries in this industrial sector. There are 18 agreements with Soviet partners on direct relations in research and production. Dr Hans-Joachim Lauck, minister of construction of heavy machinery and equipment, also paid tribute to the many years of contacts with USSR enterprises.

Nikolay Talyzin appreciated the standard of the GDR industrial products that were presented and stressed the increased use of key technologies as the main basis for a further increase in performance.

Beil Meets Albanian Counterpart

LD1503112789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0954 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR foreign trade minister, today in Leipzig met Shane Korbeci, his counterpart from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. They discussed the development of economic relations. The interlocutors acknowledged the good state of trade and were able to establish that the agreements of the long-term trade agreement will be fulfilled or surpassed. Leading from this, they discussed measures for deepening economic cooperation for the period 1991-95.

The GDR gets, among other things, early tomatoes, cucumbers, fruit, and vegetable preserves, as well as textiles and chrome ore from Albania. It exports, for example, machines and equipment, agricultural machinery, and vehicles, and electrical engineering products.

Honecker Greets Women on International Day

AU0903131989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Mar 89 p 1

[Message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the women and girls on the occasion of 1989 International Women's Day: "Thanks and Appreciation To All Women and Girls in the GDR"]

[Text] Dear women and girls:

On the occasion of 8 March, a day of struggle and a day of celebrations for women all over the world, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] conveys most cordial greetings and congratulations to you.

We are commemorating this year's International Women's Day amid a broad democratic people's movement, preparing for the local elections and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The great initiatives and comprehensive achievements with which you have contributed to these significant events in all spheres of social life demonstrate how closely you are linked with our worker-peasant state and how much responsibility you show in participating in the comprehensive strengthening of the state.

Dear women and girls, we would like to convey cordial thanks to you for this. On this day, we express special appreciation and respect for the mothers in our country who, while fulfilling their professional and social commitments, are educating their children with much love and care so that they become educated and conscious citizens of our socialist fatherland, the generation that will continue our historic work by further shaping the developed socialist society.

The women in our country play an important role in enabling us, on the basis of a high level of economic dynamics, to successfully continue the course of the unity of economic and social policy. They are always at the focal points of social life, they struggle in the front ranks, and accomplish outstanding achievements in socialist competition. On the basis of their solid education and the possibilities for advanced training that are open to them, women today are mastering the modern technologies as skilled workers, foremen, and engineers, they are managers in enterprises and trade institutions, they are heads of schools, creches, and kindergardens, they are deputies, mayors in towns and villages and, as judges and lay judges, they contribute to strengthening our socialist state that is based on the rule of law. Several generations of women have already furnished convincing proof that a great work, such as the building of the socialist society, would be inconceivable without them. On the other hand, the far-reaching changes that have been achieved in the lives of the women during the 40 years of the GDR's existence are only possible in socialism. Thus, equal rights for men and woman are as much a part of the advantages and values of socialism as a life in peace, social protection, and security.

In order to further promote the participation of women and girls in all social processes, to make work and motherhood even more compatible, preconditions have been created that make life pleasant and that make no one want to miss today.

In this connection, particular importance is to be accorded to the construction of apartments, to facilities for the children, services, trade, the supply industry, and measures that help increase the leisure time and happiness of working women and their families.

Our primary goal continues to be to work everywhere in such a manner that women's personalities can further unfold and that more of them can assume leading positions that actually correspond to their knowledge and ability.

International Women's Day, which has been a day of struggle for peace since it was established, will provide an opportunity for the women and girls in our country to continue to actively support the peace policy of our state. Together, we want to direct our activities toward not allowing a pause in the disarmament process, toward preventing the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles by NATO, and toward successfully continuing the policy of reason and realism. The most recent unilateral disarmament measures taken by the GDR, the Soviet Union, and other socialist states, are important steps in this direction.

Millions of men and women on the globe need work and bread, social justice and peace. We greet all of them, and on International Women's Day we support their struggle with solidarity.

Dear women and girls, we are convinced that through your significant and indispensable contributions you will do everything you can in the 40th year of the GDR's existence to prepare the 12th SED Congress and to strengthen and make prosperous our socialist fatherland. Let us continue to fulfill the tasks that we are facing with all our strength, courage, optimism, and confidence.

Dear women, the SED Central Committee wishes you, your children, and your families the best of health, creative vigor, pleasure, and happiness.

With socialist greetings,

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Kessler Receives Bulgarian Defense Official
AU0803134289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, received Colonel General Boris Todorov, deputy minister of national defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, on Monday [6 March]. During the meeting at the Defense Ministry, the partners in the talks paid tribute to the close relations between the two peoples and armies. The Warsaw Pact states' unilateral proposals to reduce troops and weaponry were assessed as an expression of efforts to contribute to the disarmament process constructively and through deeds.

During the meeting, Army General Heinz Kessler briefed the visitor on the initiatives and achievements of the members of the National People's Army in implementing the SED's policy, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. In accordance with their assignment, together with the fraternal armies, they will do everything possible in the 40th year of the GDR's existence to protect the socialist achievements and the peaceful life of the citizens, and to ensure a peaceful and secure future. Soldiers in the GDR are educated, trained, and instructed in this spirit, the minister stressed. Colonel General Todorov conveyed cordial greetings from Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, which were reciprocated in the same manner by Army General Heinz Kessler.

The meeting was attended by Colonel General Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Technology and Weaponry Main Administration.

Tisch Meets With Austrian Trade Union Leader
LD0903202389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1707 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, and a delegation from the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (OeGB), led by its President Friedrich Verzetnitsch, met in Berlin Thursday. They discussed questions of mutual interest in the international situation and of their trade union representations.

The two sides agreed that in the struggle to preserve peace, ecouraging results have recently been achieved. A policy of dialogue between East and West is regarded by the two sides as useful not only among governments but also among trade unions. The long-standing constructive relations between the FDGB and OeGB are described as an example for dialogue between trade unions with different political orientation and international affiliation.

Harry Tisch informed his guests about the policy of the party, state, and government aimed at the welfare of the people and the preservation of peace, which meet with the full support of the GDR trade unions. He described the FDGB's decisive commitment to the prevention of war, for a halt to armament, and for disarmament as a fundamental aspect of the trade union representation of interests. He referred to the historic importance of the INF Treaty and the latest iniatives of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states, which have decided, unilaterally and independently of negotiations, to reduce their armed forces and defense expenditure. [passage omitted]

Tisch Receives Poland's OPZZ Chairman
LD1103181589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1054 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive, and Alfred Miodowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Confederation of Trade Unions (OPZZ), spoke on Saturday [11 March] in Berlin on the current tasks of the trade unions in the GDR and Poland, the international trade union movement, and the deepening of cooperation between their organizations.

During the talk, Harry Tisch went extensively into the stable economic and social development of the GDR and explained how the trade unions are responsible as representatives of the interests of the working class and of all working people.

Alfred Miodowicz gave information on the contribution of the Polish class trade unions to the stablization of the social and economic development in Poland. He went extensively into the attitude of his organization toward trade union pluralism and the state to date of the "roundtable" talks. He stressed that the OPZZ is emphatically pursuing the aim of securing the comprehensive representation of the interests of the Polish working people, particularly in the enterprises.

Both partners in the talks underlined the great responsibility of the trade unions for securing peace and advocated further supporting the process of disarmament which has begun with concrete initiatives.

PAP Reports Talks

LD1103223989 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 11 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Edmund Kieszkowski]

[Text] Berlin, March 11—PUWP CC Political Bureau member and chairman of the all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz paid a working visit to the GDR today.

Alfred Miodowicz presented moves by the Polish class trade unions to stabilize social life and economic development of Poland as well as the OPZZ stand on trade union pluralism and the current state of the "roundtable" talks during a meeting with SED CC Political Bureau member and chairman of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions Harry Tisch.

Both chairmen stressed great responsibility of trade unionists in strengthening peace and voiced their full support for the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces.

Slovak Planning Commission Chairman Visits

AU1503172789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Pavol Bahyl, deputy premier of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development, and candidate member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, arrived in Berlin on Monday [13 March] for an exchange of experiences on the improvement of management, planning, and economic cost accounting. During his stay he will exchange experiences and views with GDR officials on measures aimed at increasing the self-financing in the combines and state-owned enterprises in both countries.

The visitor will tour production plants of the Shoe Combine in Weissenfels and of the IFA Private Cars Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Ministerial Visits to FRG Cancelled

LD1503154889

[Editorial Report] East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1518 GMT on 15 March carries a 100-word report to the effect that Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water management, "will not be visiting the FRG as planned between 10 and 12 April." The report adds that "nor can the planned visit by FRG Environment Minister Toepfer to the GDR on 29 and 30 March 1989 take place." No explanation is given for the cancellation of the visits.

East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1521 GMT on 15 March carries a 40-word report that "Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Boehme, minister of university and technical school matters, has sent a telex to Juergen Moellemann, FRG minister of education and science, that he will be unable to pay a visit to the FRG, which was planned for May this year." No further explanation is given.

NATO 'Double-Dealing' in Arms Talks Viewed

AU1403173839 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 89 p 2

["He." Editorial: "The Chance of Vienna"]

[Text] On Thursday [9 March] the negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments and on the creation of a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe started in Vienna.

Regardless of certain nuances, the majority of the Western papers also speak of the chance that the negotiations between the member states of the Warsaw Pact and of NATO might achieve the elimination of asymmetries, the further reduction of the then reached equal thresholds, and finally the non-attack capability, and a stable peace on our old continent.

Of course, this chance will not become reality by doing nothing. Constructive work is needed. This is the yardstick for the concepts which were presented by both sides in Vienna. The socialist states proposed a three-stage plan, which corresponds to what the peoples in East and West hope for and which is justifiably called the chance of Vienna. In summary: The existing imbalances are to be eliminated between 1991-94 and the number of troops as well as their entire offensive armament is to be reduced by 10 to 15 percent below the level of that side which is already at the lowest level. From 1994-97 reduction by another 25 percent. From 1997-2000 establishment of exclusively defensive structures.

Unfortunately, one cannot say that the NATO concept is equally precise and equally realistic. NATO only looks at three categories of weapons: tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery. Why not troop strength, which is something that has been lamented by the Atlantic alliance for a long time under the motto of the "Threat by an overwhelming superiority of the East"? Why not attack planes (concerning which NATO is superior)? Why not combat helicopters, which are among the most important attack weapons and concerning which the West is also superior?

One must also not overlook that while the Vienna negotiations were starting, NATO Secretary General Woerner again strongly voiced his support for the "irreplaceability of the doctrine of deterrence," for the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, for the "necessity" of new types of weapons....

The people in the West, who have long ceased believing in the lie of the threat and are fed up with the continuing course of arms buildup, will—like ourselves—observe the negotiating table very closely. Talking about disarmament there but in reality striving for unilateral advantages and revving up the armament machinery far away from the Danube—this double-dealing endangers the chance that has opened up in Vienna.

Measures To Ameliorate Ozone Layer Hole Viewed

AU1303143689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Mar 89 p 2

[H.B. commentary: "Cooperation for Ozone"]

[Text] I have followed with interest the reports on the international conference on the protection of the ozone layer in London, Walter Voss from Schwerin said on the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND readers' telephone. And he asked about the urgency of increased international cooperation in this field, which was recommended there.

It is—without dramatizing—absolutely imperative. For this is an environmental problem that has to be taken seriously and can only be solved by worldwide efforts. The damage which is known as the "ozone hole" and is done to the ozone layer, which absorbs the hard ultraviolet rays over the Antartic is caused by artificial pollution of the atmosphere. Here chlorofluorocarbons, which are used as gas-producing agents and coolants, play an especially dangerous role. The worldwide annual production of them is estimated at approximately 600,000 tonnes, with one third each falling to the United States and Western Europe and 10 to 15 percent to Japan.

The GDR, whose share in the international consumption of chlorofluorocarbons amounts to only 1 percent, consistently supports international efforts to curb agents that damage the ozone layer. For example, it joined the 1987 Montreal Protocol, which contains commitments to this effect, and has laid down comprehensive national measures based on it. Dr Hans Reichelt, GDR minister for environmental protection and water conservancy, was able to report in London that in our aerosol industry the use of chlorofluorocarbons as gas-producing agents has already been reduced by more than 50 percent. Efforts are made to completely replace them by 1991. The detection, recycling, and central processing of coolants from obsolete major refrigerating facilities, household refrigerators, and freezers is extended to reduce the present use of chlorofluorocarbons by 30 percent.

In this way, the GDR is able to contribute many concrete experiences, part of which are the results of decades of large-scale research work on the ozone in the atmosphere, and to international cooperation. At the same time, with its consistent peace policy, it contributes to improving the basic conditions for such cooperation in solving global environmental problems. It was also shown in London that in order to implement effective measures to protect the ozone layer and to prevent possible climatic changes, increased efforts are required for an international security system.

Candidates for Municipal Elections Examined

AU1303150889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As reported by the bezirk election offices, according to Article 17 of the electoral law, the examination of the candidates for the people's representations to be newly elected were concluded in their workers' collectives on schedule on 8 March 1989. A total of 272,480 candidates who had been selected by the democratic parties and mass organizations were supported by their collectives and were proposed as candidates. A total of 39.4 percent of the former deputies are not running again.

The working people's high demands on their future people's representatives are demonstrated by the fact that 1,276 candidates did not find the approval of their colleagues, mainly because of insufficient work ethics or social inactivity, and thus were not nominated for the National Front's election proposals.

For the first time, in these municipal elections the National Front's local and housing district committees stated their points of view on the selected candidates at the same time. Here their social activities, their reputation in the housing districts, and the fulfillment of their previous duties as deputies in the election district were the main subjects of discussion. In 1,065 cases the National Front committees used the opportunity to object to selected candidates and to propose 900 other members as candidates. Almost half of these objections and proposals resulted in changes to the election proposals.

The candidates examined by the working people will now face the voters during public deliberations in the election districts where decisions will be made on the election proposals and the ranking of the candidates in the election proposal.

In the bezirks, kreises, cities, city districts, and municipalities election commissions were established by the local councils on the basis of the proposals of the National Front's respective committees. This democratic process to prepare the municipal elections on 7 May corresponds to the electoral law and the principle of the Constitution, according to which the people manage their elections by themselves. It is the main duty of the 7,802 election commissions with their 74,048 members to guarantee the strict observance of the stipulations of electoral law.

Economic Statistics for February Published

AU0603170789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4-5 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The course of the unity of economic and social policy was continued successfully in the GDR's national economy in February. According to preliminary statistical indications, the produced national income rose 4 percent.

Through the completion of 15,704 apartments, housing conditions were improved for 47,000 citizens.

Retail sales were up 4 percent by the end of February over the same period last year. The personal disposable income of the population increased 3.3 percent. In the GDR's foreign trade, an export surplus was achieved. In industry, the planned production targets were overfulfilled by M261 million in February. Industrial goods production was up 4 percent. Net production and labor productivity rose 6 percent. The costs were reduced by 1.5 percent. The application of key technologies continued at a rapid pace. By the end of February, 10,349 office and personal computers had been produced. The production of printers for computers increased by 4,669 units, and that of memory units for computers by 10,708 units. The manufacture of robots was up 39 percent and that of monolithically integrated circuits 32 percent over the same period last year.

In the construction sector, the building production plan was overfulfilled by M25 million. In industrial construction, an increase of 3.2 percent was achieved; the plan was fulfilled 100.5 percent. In Dresden Bezirk, measures have been initiated to make up for the shortfall that has occurred in the construction of new apartments.

In agriculture, the plan for state procurement was overfulfilled in the sphere of slaughter animals, milk, and eggs by the end of February. In the case of slaughter animals, procurement rose 1.8 percent, in the case of milk 0.5 percent, and in the case of eggs 2.5 percent as compared with the same period last year.

In the transportation sector, the transportation tasks of the national economy were fulfilled: 472,000 tonnes in excess of the plan were transported by the railroads and inland navigation. In the posts and telecommunications sector, an increase of 2.1 percent was achieved in comparison with last year.

In the individual sectors of industry, the following growth in net production and labor productivity, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved by the end of February:

	Net production	Labor Productivity	Reduction in prime costs
		—percent—	
Coal and energy	6.5	5.6	0.7
Ore mining, metallurgical industry, and potash	2.0	2.0	0.9
Chemical industry	4.0	4.3	0.5
Electrical Engineering, electronics	10.2	9.6	3.2
Heavy machinery and installation construction	2.7	4.3	1.3
Machine tools and processing machinery construction	6.0	6.8	1.7
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	6.0	5.6	0.7
Light industry	5.2	4.5	0.8
Glass and ceramics industry	1.0	1.0	0.9
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	6.4	6.9	1.7

Within bezirk-administered industry, the following growth in net production and in the manufacture of finished products for the population, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved:

	Net production	Manufactured goods for the population	Reduction in prime costs
		—percent—	
Capital city of Berlin	10.0	2.5	1.6
Cottbus	8.0	6.0	2.3
Dresden	5.5	2.7	1.6
Erfurt	7.1	5.6	1.4
Frankfurt	5.4	10.5	4.0
Gera	6.0	5.6	2.4
Halle	2.4	6.8	2.5
Karl-Marx-Stadt	4.7	4.2	2.3
Leipzig	4.3	5.2	1.7
Magdeburg	7.4	4.0	1.5
Neubrandenburg	5.2	5.1	3.2
Potsdam	6.5	6.1	2.2
Rostock	8.2	2.2	1.0
Schwerin	11.1	5.5	1.7
Suhl	6.9	3.9	2.3

PEN President Criticizes Berlin Republicans

AU0803144289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 89 p 6

[Commentary by Heinz Kamnitzer, president of the GDR PEN-Center: "The Republicans Ante Portas"]

[Text] The name is a magic hood. Just outside the door of our house, in the political scene between Potsdam Square and Spandau, the Republican Party under its leader, who proudly recalls his time in Adolf Hitler's SS Leibstandarte, has won almost 100,000 votes and enters the Schoeneberg City Hall with 11 deputies.

When will a danger to life actually be noticed, when will attention be drawn to it? When it is too late, shortly before, in the middle of the way, or early? For years, those who predicted what has now happened have met with deaf ears. Not seeing, not hearing, not saying anything seemed to be preferred by some of our contemporaries. Even some of those who voiced warnings often did not quite believe them themselves, and probably thought that if one keeps on industriously painting the devil on the wall he will not appear in person.

Now he is so lively that no one can deny him any longer. His remedies and "hails" are in great demand again. The Republicans are beating the drums, as in the past. It is a lie when it is said that they do not have anything against foreigners and asylum seekers but only want to limit their numbers. Following the brown example, they are preaching that the national substance and the biological situation of the German people are in danger.

Making the Jews responsible for anti-Semitism, in particular their Central Council, which is declared to be the fifth occupation power on German soil, is again part of their enemy image.

With their hatred of foreigners and their racial mania they are selling the old chimera, according to which all misery can be remedied by giving jobs first to Germans, housing space first to Germans, places in schools first to Germans and having a police as a club guard to ensure this order.

In foreign policy they are calling for a free road across the Elbe and Oder rivers in order to reestablish Greater Germany. And those who are not in favor of this are marked as rascals and traitors.

No wonder that Republican Chairman Franz Schoenhuber considers Hitler to have been the German Napoleon and Adolf Hitler's Leibstandarte as the elite for the elite of the nation, among which he counts himself. Even the men of 20 July 1944 [assassination attempt on Hitler] are for him only people who staged a coup d'etat and their death on the gambrel "could be interpreted as an act of the avenging nemesis."

Those who are consoling themselves with the thought that these "Republicans" will disappear as others before them had better compare the periods. Perhaps this alliance of old and neo-Nazis is doing only the dirty work. However, this time the guidelines with which they divert the dissatisfaction from the reasons can base themselves on chronic unemployment, increasing poverty, and economic uncertainty.

If this spiral does not turn back, ultrarightism will exploit the concerns and fears for its benefit, because all parties that have ruled in the FRG and West Berlin to date have not prevented social cutbacks, but rents, prices, and profits have skyrocketed while real income, old-age pensions, and social benefits have plummeted.

An ascension is certainly not unstoppable. However, it cannot be stopped by those who only count on explaining matters to people, which has already failed to date. If one wants to get rid of the evil spirits, one needs more than appeals to reason. One should immediately call on the allied protective powers in West Berlin to perform their function and to ban the successor party of the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP). As regards us, these Republicans find their limits where our border begins.

PEN Club Minister Condemns Havel Imprisonment

LD0203120389 Hamburg DPA in German 1135 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR Pen Center has protested against the sentencing of the Czechoslovak writer and human rights campaigner Vaclav Havel to a 9-month prison sentence by the Prague court. The resolution, passed yesterday at a well-attended members' meeting in East Berlin, was unanimous, with the PEN members protesting the mass executions in Iran. The GDR PEN center has 90 members. According to reports from participants, approximately three quarters were at the meeting.

Havel was arrested in January during demonstrations on Prague's Wenceslas Square and was later sentenced to 9 months' imprisonment. Hermlin called this "a completely excessive judgment against someone who laid down flowers and who obviously only explained this point of view." Hermlin said on the situation in Czechoslovakia, alluding to the occupation of the country by the Warsaw Pact troops in 1968: "As far as I am concerned I have not changed my own opinion regarding Prague in 20 years." Hermlin has always taken a critical position on the occupation.

GDR Deputy Culture Minister Klaus Hoepke also voted for the resolution against Havel's sentence. The GDR author Rolf Schneider announced this in an interview with Deutschlandfunk. Hoepke is in charge of the ministry department responsible for publishing houses and the book trade.

Reportage on 15 Mar Nationwide Celebrations

Nyers Speaks in Budapest

LD1503155989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0905 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Speech by Rezso Nyers, member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee and minister of state, given at the festive celebration to mark the anniversary of the 1848 revolution, in Budapest on 15 March—live]

[Text] Fellow countrymen, my friends! We are gathered here together to honor the anniversary of 15 March 1848, to pledge that the ideas of March are alive and will live in the Hungary of tomorrow. The glorious day is now illuminated by a new light, the light of political renewal, and it brings these ideas closer to the whole of the nation. From now on, we shall endeavor to make 15 March not a force of division but rather a force for forming a consensus, a symbol which can be celebrated with equal zeal and with mutual responsibility by the followers of socialism, democracy, religion, and enlightened national thinking.

Today millions are celebrating and remembering with us in towns and villages, on both sides of the Danube, in every part of the country. The venous network of the rememberance of the country converges here, in the heart of the country, at the historic scene of the capital, at the National Museum, at the statues of Petofi, Kossuth, and General Bem. Every single commemoration points in the same direction and bring us face to face with the great questions of our national existence, with the lessons of our history, with the present state of our internal affairs, with our place in the world, and with our values as with our weaknesses. These warn us that we must learn from the world, that we must also understand each other to enable us to do better as a nation. We must learn from the historic past and also from the recent past so that clear vision can prevent us from losing our way in the troubles of our own history.

The spring of 1848 brought with it the awakening of nations in most parts of Europe. Popular uprising and revolution swept over the continent—in Venice, Rome, and Milan, just as in Paris and in Vienna and Berlin and Prague. The youth of March stepped onto the scene here, in Budapest, and the reforms of the National Assembly stepped onto the scene there, in Pozsony [Bratislava]. The idea of the popular uprising then threw the masses into a fever. They wanted constitutional conditions, national well-being, and national culture, self- government and citizens' rights.

There was a short flare-up of the desire for freedom then, but despotism, and not only in our country, soon crushed the will of the nation everywhere, which was a sign of the fact that the fate of the individual nations, even then, was intertwined and coupled with the fate of other nations.

The generation living today, that is all of us, has inherited quite a few tasks from the ideas of March. In our country, the people's power must be enforced better, more completely, and in a new way. The ideas of March help us by giving direction.

We have recognized and learned that it is not enough to practice the people's rights through the mediation of a vanguard. This is because the vanguard can turn easily into a main group [elcsapathbol konnyen elcsoport lesz], and the power can stiffen into a domination of prestige. In today's Hungary, the principle of the sovereignty of the people can really be established by the representive democracy based on free elections. A truly responsible government can operate on this basis. This corresponds to the national interest, and the ideas of socialism can best be used by viewieng our internal relations in this way.

Today we no longer have an aversion to multifaceted politics. Wesselenyi [Miklos, 1796-1850; Transylvanian land owner and leader of the liberal opposition of the Diet of 1830] spoke the truth in the reform period: There are more roads leading to the same aim. This can also be our guiding principle and practice.

The Ides of March are a warning for us today, too. National existence only vegetates if it is not based on the principle of independence, if the majority will of the nation is oppressed by outside influence, or if the will of domestic government becomes weakened by outside pressures. Our history teaches us that national independence can be a function of circumstances. Rather, it is a value in itself, and the lack of it cannot be explained by circumstances.

We suffered a great deal during the time when the fate of the country was managed from Vienna. We were swept into a losing war by it. We suffered when the one-time lords of Berlin radiated their aggressive influence on the weak Horthy government, which was terrified of the Soviet Union. This is how we got swept into World War II.

We also suffered when Hungarian politics were governed long-distance from Moscow between 1948 and 1956, and also [interrupted by applause] when after 1968, the Brezhnevian USSR radiated antireformism throughout Eastern Europe, seeking to paralyze the Hungarian reform policy that had taken an independent course.

We can never view national independence differently than Lajos Kossuth, who warned: If the smaller nations are not safeguarded against being swallowed up by the great powers, there will not be freedom in Europe. [applause] But safeguarding and protection are in themselves too little. We must not forget, even for a minute, our Eastern and central European obligations and responsibilities. We cannot cease to have feelings of

fellowship for the Magyars living beyond our borders. [applause] At the same time, it is by thinking in terms of a community of nations that we can successfully build our future.

Nor can we forget that politics, the economy, and education are siblings in the national existence. Their fates are tied to each other. Either they show progress or mark time, but they are always together, and they can only thrive together on the path of modernization.

The political aim cannot compete with the economic aim. Neither has precedence over the other, but neither is secondary to the other, either. And both are dependent on education. So, it is together on the three tracks that we can get ahead.

We must carry through our present renewal of legislation, action, and the formation of thought both simultaneously and linked to each other, in the National Assembly, in the self-governing bodies, in the factories, on the land, in the schools, and in the cultural centers. That is when success will and can be our lot. From our democratic politics, we will also gain economic sources of strength. We have made the progress of our economy into a political matter, and we should use the question of education as the breeding ground for enlightened politics and a modern economy.

With today's reform policy, we are breaking new ground toward the historical Hungarian future, and we are counting on having to wrestle with many, many difficulties in the course of ground-breaking. We need a strong spirit and good politicizing so that from the variety of interests and views, a single line of action can be formed.

We must recognize that in many areas, we have not yet really taken the path of well-being. We are still seeking to overcome the pitfalls of crisis and struggling to get through the brambles of bureaucracy, to arrive at our destination. All this comes with debate and demands debate about politics and our society. According to our conviction, responsible debate carries us forward, but we must be careful that it does not turn into discord. Its aim and meaning must be the search for the common good.

The policy of reform is today the driving force of our nation's development, and it will be for a long time. For a long time, because there is much to do, because the possibilites are finite, not limitless, because we can also be truly free afterwards only in the breadth of time, in the formation of the future. So, we must prepare for a long period of march to reform. We can start out with further reforms. These, however, often serve the future in such a way that at the same time they disturb everyday living. Even so, we must undertake this matter which, we believe, will have positive results.

But in the meantime, neither must we lose sight of the given reality. The country's chariot must be in equilibrium so that we can advance. It is not possible to step onto the path of reforms and to continually undertake new enterprise without the vanguard of the reformers. On the other hand, we would not be able to defend ourselves from dangers and confusion without the main army [derekhad] of the real politicians. The amalgamation of the reform initiative and realpolitik is the best solution once the motive forces of renewal are already operating in society. This is the situation that now exists in Hungary. So, let us respect both creative elements of this particular amalgamation. Let us follow the advice that Szechenyi [19th century statesman] gave the reformers: You must always know when to hoist the sail, when to go into port, and when to drop anchor.

Let us now proceed with a hoisted sail, because the time for this is here. In the meantime, let us also take care to ensure that our ship sits well in the water, that it takes turns correctly, and that there are as many of us as possible who want what is good and who will fight for this. The MSZMP and the government call on every adherent and supporter of Hungarian progress to cooperate and come together. Cooperation for deterring the crisis; cooperation for the success of the long-term reforms; cooperation for the economic and social upswing; and cooperation for a democratic socialism that accords with the national situation.

Let us accept with pure hearts the legacy of March 15. Let it be kept alive by our hearts, our thoughts, and the multiplicity of deeds.

Alternative Group Leaders Speak

LD1503194889 Budapest MTI in English 1654 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—Several thousand persons participated on Wednesday at a rally held in Museum Garden, in front of the Hungarian National Museum. The event was organized by the Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Youth Union (KISZ).

The presidium of the rally included representatives of the Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and the party's youth movement, the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, the Hungarian churches, the armed forces and bodies, and the Petofi Society.

Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, opened the rally. A speech was then delivered on behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and youth movement by Gyorgy Ruttner, member of the Presidium. Mr Ruttner stressed: Representatives of the Social Democratic Party and Youth Movement are participating in the rally because they hold March 15 to be a sacred holiday which should be celebrated together. This however, does not mean that social democracy is marching together with

the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Nor does it wish to share in the responsibility that for decades, society did not have the opportunity to freely celebrate on this day, he said.

In the following, Mr Ruttner appreciated the historical importance of the 1848 events.

On behalf of the Independent Smallholders' Party, Co-Chairman Vince Voros addressed the participants. He stressed: The message of March 5, 1848 is alike addressed to the possessors of the power, to the parties being organized, and to the existing independent organizations. The historical task of all of us is to realize genuine democracy. After 40 years, the nation can finally unite in free, dignified and pure celebration, in the belief and hope that we shall be able to ensure, although with difficult and hard work, equal rights and living standard to all honest Hungarian citizens.

In the following, Rezso Nyers, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and minister of state, delivered a festive speech.

In his festive speech, Mr Nyers appreciated the historical significance of the 1848-49 revolution and freedom fight, its lessons still valid today.

'Today's generation, all of us, inherited quite a few tasks from the March ideas', Mr Nyers stressed. 'People's power should be enforced in a new manner, in a better and more perfect way than so far in our country, and the March ideas assist us by showing the direction. We have recognized, and learned, that it is not enough to exercise popular rights with the mediation of the vanguard, as the vanguard can easily become a leading group, and power can stiffen into the rule of authority.

'Representational democracy based on free elections is capable of genuinely realizing the principle of the sovereignty of the people in contemporary Hungary, a genuinely responsible government can operate on this basis. This accords to the national interest, and the ideas of socialism can best be adapted to our domestic conditions on this road. Today, we no longer are averse to diversity even in politics.

'Our history teaches us that national independence cannot depend on the circumstances, it is a value in itself, and its lack cannot be explained by the circumstances. We gravely suffered when the fate of the country was managed from Vienna, which led us into a lost war. We gravely suffered also when the former rulers of Berlin transmitted an aggressive influence to the Horthy government in fear of the Soviet Union and weak in will-power, this is how we were carried into the Second World War. And we also suffered when, between 1948 and 1956, Hungarian policy was remote controlled from Moscow, and when, after 1968, the Soviet Union of Brezhnev radiated anti-reformism throughout Eastern Europe, making efforts to paralyze the Hungarian reform policy which took an independent direction. We cannot, for a moment, forget our Eastern-central European obligation and responsibility, we cannot cease to feel sympathy towards the Hungarians living beyond our borders. At the same time, we can successfully build our future by thinking in the community of nations.

'Today, the policy of reforms is the propelling force of the development of our nation, and this will continue to be so for a long time to come. We thus have to prepare for a long reform march.'

'The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the government call on all followers and supporters of Hungarian progress for cooperation and alliance.

'For cooperation to avert the crisis,
'For cooperation for the success of the perspective reforms,
'For cooperation for economic and social rise,
'For cooperation for democratic socialism that accords to the national characteristics', Mr Nyers stressed, among others, in his festive speech at the rally held in Museum Garden.

TV Building 'Occupation'

LD1503190889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Hello! Instead of our regular newscast, we are going to tell you about the events of today's celebration. In the next 20 minutes you are going to hear about the events that have taken place in the past hours. Not long ago the symbolic occupation of the television building took place. Our colleague Ferenc Bicsek observed this:

[Begin Bicsek recording] [Passage omitted] In front of the main entrance a transparent piece of material was raised. It bore the slogan: Free Hungarian television. This probably referred to the symbolic occupation of the television station. After this, actor Gyorgy Cserhalmi stood on the steps of the one-time exchange palace and read the 12 points signed by the 35 alternative organizations. These 12 points were written in reply to the question of what the Hungarian nation wants. Briefly, they are as follows: The nation wants a free and independent, democratic Hungary, or more precisely, genuine people's representation; a multiparty system; a constitutional state; freedom of speech, conscience, and the press; the just bearing of common burdens, a market economy; the equality of forms of ownership; a responsible policy on minorities and refugees; the truth concerning 1956; and honor and respect for the martyrs of the revolution. Gyorgy Cserhalmi's reading of every point was received by an ovation and long applause.

Following this, Denes Csengey, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum Presidium, spoke to the festive crowd from the steps of the main entrance to the Hungarian television building. Among other things, he

demanded that the independent organizations should receive independent program time on television. He then called for cheerfulness and calm, and added that if the parties are equal, then the country can celebrate 15 March together. He added, however, that they want talks to begin on their demands.

Following this, the crowd started out toward Kossuth Square carrying banners bearing slogans such as Rights instead of ideology. [end recording]

[Presenter] As you heard, several thousand of people went to Freedom Square following the call of the alternative organizations. In the Museum Garden, several thousands of people took part in the celebration organized by the MSZMP and the Patriotic People's Front. And this afternoon events are now under way which were initiated by the newly formed parties and organizations. Jozsef Orosz summarizes these events:

[Begin Orosz recording] The celebrating crowd, which was carrying banners, has arrived at the Batthyanyi sanctuary lamp, after arriving from Freedom Square, to express their gratitude to the prime minister of the first independent Hungarian government. The celebration will soon begin. Approximately 80,000 people are present. The joint mass rally organized by the 31 alternative parties and organizations finished an hour ago before the Petofi statue on 15 March Square. The speaker reminded the crowd—at that point 60,000—of those 15 March days when commemorating the 1848 revolution meant doing so in the shadow of truncheons. One line from Petofi's poem, the "National Song," was quoted: "We are still in chains." The flags, transparent banners, and the celebrating people demand a free, independent, and democratic Hungary. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Oppositionists Urge Soviet Pullout

LD1503200689 Budapest MTI in English
1725 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—A celebration was also organized by 31 independent organizations on Wednesday noon, at the Petofi statue in Budapest. Participants sang the Hungarian national anthem following the tolling of the bells at noon. Actress Sarolta Filo recalled the words of the prominent figures of the Hungarian freedom fight, in her festive speech. Answering the question why the domestic political forces, groups, parties and movements are not celebrating March 15 together Imre Mecs, representing the Committee for Historical Justice, said: 'We celebrate separately, but not against each other.' Following the speeches, the festive crowd marched to Szabadsag Square.

Several tens of thousands arrived to Szabadsag Square for the symbolic seizure of the building of Hungarian television. Actor Gyorgy Cserhalmi read the 12 points signed by the 31 independent organizations.

What does the Hungarian nation want? A free, independent, democratic Hungary—states, among others, the appeal. The demands also include genuine popular representation and multi-party system, the freedom and purity of election, the enforcement of human rights, and a constitutional state instead of police state. They demand freedom of speech, press and conscience, the elimination of the state monopoly of telecommunication and the dissolution of the state office for church affairs, and the social control of public expenditures. Also included are rational economy, an operating market, the equality of property forms, to which it was added: Major projects which devour money and destroy the environment should be stopped. They require the elimination of bureaucracy and the violence apparatus, the dismantling of the Workers' Militia and the Youth Guard, the freedom and self-determination of the peoples of Eastern and central Europe, and the elimination of the military, economic and human rights dividedness of Europe. They want a neutral, independent Hungary, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the area of Hungary, and the cancellation of November 7 from the Hungarian holidays. The government should take a stand at international forums in defence of the Hungarian minorities, the police attitude and unlawful discrimination in the affair of Romanian refugees should be eliminated. Justice for 1956, respect for the martyrs of the revolution, and the declaration of October 23 as a national holiday—run the demands in the 12 points of the independent organizations.

In the following, Denes Csengey, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, announced: The independent political organizations, the parties wish to declare that Hungarian television belongs to the entire nation, and they wish to enforce this proprietory right in the future, as well. They demand independent programmes for the independent parties, movements and trade unions. Children and young people then placed a banner over the entry of Hungarian television, with the inscription 'A Free Hungarian Television', thereby signalling the symbolic seizure of the building.

Alternative Celebrations Continue

LD1503214689 Budapest MTI in English
2043 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—On Wednesday afternoon in Budapest, a part of the crowd celebrating March 15 went from Szabadsag Square to Kossuth Square, with banners bearing the names and slogans of the various organizations. In Kossuth Square, the crowd paid a silent tribute of half a minute to those who lost their lives in Kossuth Square on October 25, 1956. In the following, Viktor Orban, representative of the Federation of Young Democrats, held a speech. The other speaker was Janos Kis, representative of the Alliance of Free Democrats. 'We want a peaceful transition, not another national catastrophe', he said.

From Kossuth Square, the procession went to Bem Square, where representatives of the Independent Smallholders' Party read out, at the Bem statue, the telegrams of foreign organizations welcoming March 15 and the Hungarians commemorating the revolution. These included telegrams from the Polish-Hungarian Solidarity Committee, the Polish Independent Students' Movement, the Solidarity trade union, and the Estonian People's Front, the Democratic Union of the Ukraine, and the Charter 77.

The March 15 celebration of the independent organizations continued in Buda, in the castle, with the torchlight procession of the Buda organizations of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. Participants marched from the statue of Tancics to Disz Square, where a festive programme welcomed the participants. The festive speaker was Ferenc Kulin, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. Members of the Federation of Young Democrats and the Alliance of Free Democrats, who gathered in Roosevelt Square, also arrived during the festive programme. They also crossed the chain bridge to Buda in a torchlight procession.

Hungary celebrated March 15 in a peaceful manner worthy of the historical inheritance of the day 141 years ago.

Pozsgay Addresses Gyor Celebration

LD1503161189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The speaker at Gyor's 15 March celebration was Minister of State Imre Pozsgay. Our correspondent Pal Toth reports:

[Toth] [Passage omitted] Every square inch is packed, both here and at the corners of the neighboring streets. Banners carry the demands: Workers' guard or constitutional state! Free elections! Neutral, independent Hungary! Let There be peace, freedom, understanding, and life worthy of man! Although in Gyor the alternative groups laid their wreaths separately at the Gyor memorials to the 1848 war of independence, they afterwards listened together, here in Szechenyi Square, to Imre Pozsgay, who said the following:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] A nation capable of action can only be formed together with genuine policies, genuine politicians, with people who do not play with words. [applause] The garb of democracy will be difficult attire for us to begin with. We will feel only its discomfort, tension, and the unease that is also inherent in dissension. But sooner or later we will learn its ins and outs, because it will be our job to grow into this; democracy has been cut out for us. The Hungarian people has the maturity to govern themselves.

My friends, my compatriots, why are we able to bear the frictions of democracy? Because, in the depths of our souls, without having been taught, and without schoolmasters, we know something: that democracy begins when I want to be regarded as a human being, when I regard my fellow men as human beings. [applause] It begins as simply as that. It is only on this type of understanding that can be built the institutions capable of functioning, of tolerating both the clashes and the unity forged out of the clashes. And while we catalog these clashes, we are thinking things through.

Let us also think that we would now like a time for great preparations, a constitutional state, a new constitutionality, in such a way that the guarantees should lie also in the debate that develops when we strain against one another—not only in the Constitution, but also in the free bourgeoisie [polgarsag] that owns and possesses the country, in a united society which is able by itself to create a community without illusions. [applause]

Therefore, I believe that in Hungarian legislation, both in the civic will and intent, it is marvelous that we finally want to align our rights in a European manner, according to the demands of a civilized constitutional state, so that we can courageously undertake our duties. But, I repeat, these rights necessitate a joining of forces, of citizens who experience and possess the country as their property. This is what the term society of the future means.

There is a need for us to address the worker again. He has been earmarked not only for unemployment, but also for creation. [applause] Let us address the tiller of the soil. He has been earmarked not only for drudgery beyond his strength, but also for creation. [applause] Let us address the white-collar worker. He should be the awakener—without patronage, without the slightest sense of superiority—of the ideas that lead to a free, democratic Hungary. [applause] [end recording]

Pozsgay Fields Audience's Questions

LD1603002189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] In the hall of the Gyor Technical College, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay and political scientist Attila Agh took questions from members of the large audience at a forum which began at 1500 and which ended a short while ago. Pal Toth reports:

[Toth] Here are a few questions and answers from the forum which lasted till about 1700. Is there a chance of a restoration in Hungary? According to Imre Pozsgay, there are still some people committed to the party state who are in power, but they have no social base. In this connection, Attila Agh expressed his opinion that the Ferenc Munnich Society is the product of the decay of the olden-type party.

The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage prompted a lot of questions. The most serious thing is not first and foremost the economic loss deriving from this, but rather the new government's loss of political capital. Attila Agh described the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage point-blank as a memorial to the Stalinist mechanism of decisionmaking.

A teacher who had fled Translyvania asked: Who, according to the current official policy, belongs to the Hungarian nation? Imre Pozsgay shared the opinion of [Hungarian writer] Gyula Illyes: being Hungarian is a question not of origin but rather of acceptance—in other words, all those who profess themselves to be Hungarian. In the matter of bilateral interstate agreements—and here it is and was a question of the matter of Hungarian-Romanian dual citizenship—the minister of state said that those bilateral agreements which harm the Hungarian nation will have to be abrogated.

Another topic was neutrality. Attila Agh believes the Finnish way of thinking is the one to be followed. The essence of this is that the basis for Finland's neutrality is provided by bilateral agreements operating with strong reciprocal guarantees. We now have good possibilities for settling our domstic and foreign affairs alike.

What would Imre Pozsgay do if he were president of the Republic? His verbatim reply: Whoever he is, let him rally all his strength.

Horn Addresses Sopron Ceremony

LD1503161589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Report by Sandor Forgacs on the 15 March celebrations in Sopron]

[Text] Here and there among the crowd, which celebrated with exemplary discipline, banners were raised on high bearing the slogans: The people ask for more! as well as We'll no longer be captives. On another banner was written the demand: Democracy! There was also a black banner, in the center of which a spattered spot of blood had been painted, whose inscription boldly stated: Transylvania!

The speaker at the Sopron ceremony was Gyula Horn, MSZMP Central Committee member and state secretary for foreign affairs. At the beginning of his speech he said: With the passage of 40 years, the worthy celebrations of 15 March 1848 and the acceptance of our national past and our traditions indicate the chosen direction of progress in our time. The common will made manifest 141 years ago helped to create our people's fights of freedom. The aim of the present transformation is inner democratic renewal, catching up with the world's leading nations, and reforming politics and the economy. The realization of these, through the common bearing of burdens, affects the destiny of every single one of our compatriots.

The world is watching the renewal efforts of our society, of our nation. Europe is today watching Hungary with good intentions and with a willingness to help, said Gyula Horn. One goal of our foreign policy is to join the European progressive movement. Our country's openness provides a good foundation for expanding our relations with other peoples. In realizing our reforms, in accomplishing our rights of freedom, we do not stand alone in the world as we did 141 years ago.

The state secretary for foreign affairs ended his speech with a quotation from Kossuth: If ever there has been a time, this is it: to neither rest nor sleep, but for everyone to strain their strength for action.

Imre Pozsgay Views National Day, 1956 Events

AU1503165189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by Peter Martos: "The Stalinist System Is the Most Unstable of All Possible Systems"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Martos] Mr Minister of State, the Hungarian people are today celebrating a day which has not been a holiday for very long. Opposition circles have always staged demonstrations on the anniversaries of 15 March 1848, but most of the time they were persecuted and beaten by the police. This time the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] wanted to celebrate the holiday together with these circles. Was it not too soon to expect those who earlier were beaten to now march together with those who used to beat them?

[Pozsgay] It really seems to have been too soon. It was only the wish of the MSZMP to express some sort of national unity on this great national day. The independent organizations and alternative movements do not seem to have taken into account that this is not the same MSZMP under whose regime there was enmity and police interference in the free celebration of 15 March. This demonstrates our insecurity: We have overrated the significance of the change that occurred last May. The public viewed this as the conclusion of a crisis in the leadership and the regime, and not as a true political change. Therefore, this time the celebration of the rulers together with the alternative circles in Budapest—where there have been open clashes on 15 March since 1973—will not take place. However, it is necessary to establish a community; and I can cite as proof of this the fact that in places where there has been no such history of unhappy memories as in Budapest, an agreement on joint celebrations has been much easier to come by. I am lucky: I am able to celebrate in the capital city of my home region, in Gyor, where a joint event will take place in Szechenyi Square following the decision of 11 organizations, including the independent groups.

[Martos] What does the regime consider this 15 March to be—the anniversary of a bourgeois revolution or of the uprising against the Hapsburgs?

[Pozsgay] I think it is both, for 15 March 1848 was proof of the Hungarian social revolution, of the abilities of Hungarian progress, which had been strengthened during the era of reforms. At the same time, it was also proof of the country's desire to regain its independence. At that time, this unfortunately led to a conflict with Austria. However, I liked the implication of your question: This was an independence movement against the Hapsburgs and not an anti-Austrian action, because the people of Budapest and Vienna communicated very well during those weeks and months. As for the contents and consequences of the revolution, one can also view them like this: A lasting Hungarian revolution began in 1848, fell into an unfavorable world-political constellation, was distorted by absolutism and other provisional arrangements, and ended in 1867. The Compromise of 1867 [establishing the so-called dualist system between Austria and Hungary] also brought about a social compromise; at that time all laws unilaterally passed by the Hungarians in April 1848 were accepted. One could also say that normal history was fulfilled: The revolution was implemented partly by those that had suffocated it and partly by new initiators. After the brief phase of revenge—the Haynau tyranny, for instance—Hungary had a relatively ordered administration within a short period of time. In this respect the social contents of the system were turned around—the political contents changed in 1867.

[Martos] There are striking parallels with another era—on a totally different level, of course: What was demanded in 1956 is now beginning to become reality.

[Pozsgay] Yes, this really is a similar process. This is why I like to use the term compromise. Even though in 1867 it was a compromise between two countries, today, too, one needs a compromise. By this I mean saying farewell to a kind of ideology that robbed the people of their freedom in everyday life in the interest of remote goals. In contrast to this state of affairs, at present a new model is being worked out which is based on political freedom. The basic idea of this model was developed in 1953-56 and existed during the 1956 popular uprising. Therefore, I think that Hungary's tragedy in 1956 also contains a fortunate element in addition to the terrible traces it left behind in history: The two alternatives of history did not end in 1956. In addition to a basically Stalinist structure, a liberal direction remained in existence, which made this structure more humane and maintained the reformist wing. Sometimes this was done in a very thin trickle, one weak and too ready for compromise, but still in a way that has by now led to an intellectual recovery and to the beginning of a pluralist system.

[Martos] Mr Minister, you called 1956 a popular uprising—such a statement has already once caused excitement. Is your opinion different from the latest party statement?

[Pozsgay] It deviates from what the party said in the past. But the Central Committee session of 10-11 February adopted a formula which no longer resembles that of the counterrevolution. Now the formula says: It was a true popular uprising, in which reactionary and counterrevolutionary actions emerged during the first days of November 1956. The resolution does not say that there was a mutation toward counterrevolution.... I do not dare claim that all parts of the party have accepted this assessment—I have more than enough experience; what I had to hear about this! But one can only make progress in this question.

[Martos] Many people consider the step taken to date insufficient. Will there be another step?

[Pozsgay] Yes, certainly. Studies also have to be carried out on other question—one cannot exclude the era since 1956 and the repressive measures that were taken then and now. At the same time I am convinced that this has to be studied as thoroughly as the things that happened before, so that we are correct and do not judge our history superficially. For this purpose, the economists in the committee I am heading have become active and want to reveal the reasons for the economic crisis; the historical subcommittee is now continuing its work on the past 3 decades. In addition, the government has appointed a committee of historians and jurists that will investigate the illegalities of the era since 1945, specifically in line with procedural law. This will be done for the period until 1962—and if necessary, also up to today. Without making any prophecies, I can say that there will doubtless be new changes.

[Martos] With this our talk has now reached the present. More than 10 years ago you were minister of culture, and during an antireform phase you "disappeared." Now, at the age of 56, you are a Politburo member and minister of state. Did the regime need the reformer Imre Pozsgay, or did you have to yield to the pressure of the people in favor of the popular general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front?

[Pozsgay] Both these things played a role. The decisive fact probably was that I tried to establish an independent political force from the post in the People's Front that had been forced on me. This lesson was not bad for the party. In May it was obviously no longer possible to ignore me, if they were serious about attaching more importance to the views of the people. It is good to know this because, beyond one's personal determination and a certain amount of courage, a bit of support in the background is reassuring.

Supported by this trust, I want to be of use in stabilizing an unstable system. In fact, the Stalinist system is the most unstable of all possible systems, while the multiparty system can be the most balanced system if one can achieve political culture and the ability to govern. We have to pass through this sensitive stage now.

[Martos] The term multiparty system sounds good. But many people do not believe the MSZMP. In the constitution, Hungary is to be described as a "free, democratic,

and socialist state," while to date, "socialist democracy" has been a mockery of democracy. Is there a guarantee that the multiparty system introduced in Hungary will not follow the GDR's model? That is not a "socialist democracy" but rather "democratic socialism."

[Pozsgay] I can understand the people's distrust after so many bitter experiences over 40 years. But the significant thing about the constitution is not its preamble, which, fortunately, is short in every country of the world; the decisive thing about it is that the concept of law is modern, because it puts human rights in the forefront. The future constitution is also modern because it is traditional. A paradox? The current Constitution is not based on Hungarian tradition; instead, it was a gift.

Observing the constitution can be guaranteed only by a reestablished civilian society composed of autonomous people. This guarantee does not yet exist in view of the current dependencies. One cannot quote Istvan Bibo too often: "Democracy means not having to be afraid." This also means not having to be afraid of not marching with the regime today.

MSZMP Issues Action Program for Reform

AU1503120089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Mar 89 p 1

["Development, Democracy, Socialism for Our Future—What Is the MSZMP Striving For?"]

[Text] Hungary has come to a historical crossroads, and the stakes are extremely high: our nation's development or its lagging behind world development. Domestic conditions compel us, and world policy conditions are favorable, for a democratic renewal today, even in the current situation that is full of contradictions. There is a need for action. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has begun to reorganize its forces. Its direct goal is to overcome the crisis.

Progressive and democratic forces are today decisive in Hungarian society. They have inherited and continue the traditions of our historical reform periods, the progress of the bourgeoisie and the people, and of the workers movement. The MSZMP is working in this spirit and in the spirit of reforms. Recognizing the need for a radical change and encouraged by the desire to bring about a social consensus, the MSZMP is taking an open and critical view of the past. It breaks with a political and economic structure that has proven to be distorted and mistaken, and it dissociates itself from the mistakes made by the previous leadership and from subjectivism and politics that exclude the participation of party members. The party's goal is to promote social development and to build a democratic socialism in harmony with our national characteristics. The MSZMP relies on its political experience and on the lasting values and results achieved in social development after 1945.

Creative work, freedom, justice, and solidarity are the guiding values of our movement. Creative work is the basis of rational human life and the source of prosperity and development. Individual independence and the assertion of human rights are our ideas of freedom. The people's freedom is based on individual freedom and responsibility toward the community. Justice means striving for equal social, political, economic, welfare, and cultural opportunities. Solidarity means the interdependence, mutual respect, and support of free people and their communities. We are convinced that these values can be attained on the basis of the principles of democracy and socialism.

The MSZMP is a united party of two decisive trends of the workers movement—the communist and social-democratic trends—which is a Marxist-oriented reform party that expresses the interests of working and creative people by going beyond class considerations.

The MSZMP is an organized political force whose program represents universal and national values.

The MSZMP is strengthening its unity of action through its democratic organization, the creative cooperation of its trends, and on the basis of its members' equal rights.

The MSZMP offers cooperation and agreement on decisive national issues to all progressive citizens and organizations that accept responsibility for our country.

What do we want?

1. The implementation of the people's will

—a constitutional state; a democratic and socialist constitution;

—representational democracy;

—a legislation representing the people's sovereignty, independent courts, and a properly functioning government;

—self-government, security, and development for communities, villages, and towns;

—armed forces and bodies that are free from daily political struggles and that serve the defense of the fatherland and public order in a constitutional manner.

2. A modern system of political institutions

—a constitutional multiparty system;

—free elections and the possibility of a government coalition;

—independent trade unions and bodies that represent interests;

—a renewed people's front movement.

3. Security of individuals and communities

—citizens' and individual human rights and legality guaranteed by the Constitution;
—opportunities for young people to carry out independent political activity;
—social appreciation for women, and equal opportunities in their exercising their rights;
—a progressive law on national minorities;
—the protection of legally acquired property;
—security, order, and discipline that serve the public interest.

4. A firm government to break out from this crisis

—halting economic regression, stopping indebtedness, and laying the foundations of development;
—curbing poor performance;
—the acceptance of confrontation and inevitable sacrifices;
—a just distribution of burdens;

5. A reform of the economic system

—the consistent shifting from a shortage economy to a market economy;
—ownership reform; equal rank for various forms of ownership, and a decisive role for efficiently functioning public property;
—market value for the land;
—gradually implemented convertibility, based on an efficient economy;
—the reform of CEMA.

6. A renewed Hungarian economic policy

—an economy adjusting to Europe and to the world at large;
—a better utilization of our own resources, and an acceleration of the domestic market, along with the acceleration of exports;
—the modernization of the economic structure, of the infrastructure;
—freedom of and security for ventures;
—a tax policy that encourages performance;
—a socially-supervised budget based on new foundations.

7. Better living conditions

—a decrease in the level of inflation and a firm stand against unjustified price increases;
—a wage reform that guarantees harmony between performance and wages;
—an increase in real wages in areas where efficiency in performance improves;
—the development of backward areas.

8. A social policy that guarantees living security

—support for families to be able to fulfill their mission;
—state support for acquiring one's first housing;
—the creation of better and more secure conditions for young people to find a job, start a career, and establish a family;
—support for people who are unable to care for themselves and for people in extremely disadvantageous situations;
—strengthening the role of the community in protecting individuals;
—retraining and job opportunities for people who become unemployed.

9. A social security system that protects the individual

—a uniform and financially independent social security system regulated by law;
—enriching the forms of voluntary social security;
—a reform of the health system and free choice of physicians;
—the introduction of a more just pension system that will preserve the value of smaller pensions first, and later also of average pensions.

10. Environmental protection

—an environmental-oriented attitude and thinking;
—environment-conservation technologies;
—halting the further deterioration of the environment.

11. Clean public life

12. Free, creative intellectual work

—freedom of research and publication;
—opportunities for talented people to improve themselves in education, at their jobs, and in public life;
—the assertion of the freedom to create, and a variety of artistic and literary activity.

13. A radical renewal of education

—appreciation for teachers;
—a democratic school system that develops individual abilities;
—the independence and freedom to choose subjects in higher education;
—a free system of university acceptance.

14. Freedom of conscience and of religion

15. Peace, security, and cooperation

—the continuation of an independent foreign policy;
—a world free of military blocs;
—a common European home;
—friendly relations with neighboring peoples;
—strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, which is advancing on the road of reform;
—the establishment of contacts with Hungarians living beyond our borders.

How do we want to achieve this?

By thinking in terms of people, the nation, and the community of nations. By striving to solve decisive national issues.
By being engaged in political competition, accepting conflicts, and by means of national consensus.

What will guarantee this program?

A party capable of action. The collaboration of progressive forces. A firm government. The establishment of legal guarantees. Society's entrepreneurial readiness and its interest in the progress of our country. Openness and a free and responsible press.

The MSZMP wants the transition to a broad democracy to be carried out in a peaceful way and without increasing tensions. The party is striving to decisively express our nation's interests through its program and its political weight, and to have a decisive political influence on society through the party members' readiness for initiatives and the voters' confidence. Our party is strengthening the reform policy and can implement its goals with the participation of all its creative members engaged in politics.

Our action program is open to the quickly changing realities, new ideas, and to the party members' experience, and it will also in the future change accordingly. The Central Committee requests the opinions and proposals of party members to further develop this program.

MSZMP Central Committee
Budapest, 7 March 1989

Romanian Authors of Letter to Ceausescu Praised

AU1503135689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Mar 89 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Courageous Words From Bucharest"]

[Text] One cannot avoid being deeply moved after reading the open letter sent to President Ceausescu by six former members of the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. Anyone who has only a superficial knowledge of the conditions that prevail in the territory of our southeastern neighbor realizes the risk that the authors of this letter have taken upon themselves. These authors are: Gheorghe Apostol and Alexandru Birladeanu, former members of the RCP Political Executive Committee; Constantin Pirvulescu, a founding member of the RCP; Ileana Raceanu, a later member; Corneliu Manescu, former foreign minister; and Silviu Brucan, former chief editor of the central party daily SCINTEIA. These people raised their voices in a country where dictatorship covers everything and everyone and where words incomparably milder than those contained in this letter are followed by serious retaliation. These people have openly, before the whole world, accused a politician whose personal-family cult has been unparalleled, at least here in Europe.

These people have resoundingly declared a bitter truth: The first man of the country, who should observe and make the citizens observe the Constitution, has practically abolished it; human rights are violated and ignored. These people have told the truth about the forced assimilation that has been unparalleled in Europe in this decade, a forced assimilation initiated and urged by the Romanian president. These people have also drawn conclusions: Massive emigration, including that of the Hungarian ethnic minority, proves that this policy should be abandoned. It is discrediting socialism—this is one of the most serious and bitter accusations made by the former party leaders.

This letter which originated in Bucharest has confirmed our firm conviction: The best sons of Romania think the same way as we and many other people do about this leadership which has become estranged from the people. This is logical, and the lessons learned from facts are clear; nor can the Helsinki document be interpreted according to one's wishes. The unjustified daily accusations directed against Hungary by the leadership in Bucharest, and the anti-Hungarian campaign conducted in international forums only serve to divert the attention of the public from their own desperate domestic situation. Everyone who is living in that country is affected by these desperate conditions.

By paying respectful tribute to the courage, patriotism, and human honesty displayed by the authors of this open letter, we can say that they have strengthened our conviction that nationalism cannot be answered with nationalism in the future, either. We are advancing on the right road, or more correctly, on the only possible road when, aware of our national pride and refraining from hiding the truth, we answer calmly those who try to present a distorted image of Hungarian reality.

We are also acting rightly and correctly when, like in Geneva, we raise our voice together with other Europeans who are ready to take a firm stand for human rights. This follows from the basic principles of our morally induced policy: Not only are we unable to disregard the condition of Hungarians living beyond our borders, but we also feel deep sympathy for the Romanian people, whose real representatives are Apostol, Birladeanu, Pirvulescu, Raceanu, Manescu, and Brucan.

PLO's 'Arafat Arrives, Welcomed by Grosz

LD1603092989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has arrived in Hungary on an official visit. He was greeted at Ferihegy Airport by his host, MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

Army Fighter Aircraft Collide in Exercise
LD1503164389 Budapest MTI in English
1520 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—On Tuesday evening, while carrying out training tasks, two fighter planes of the Hungarian People's Army collided in the vicinity of Bata, 'in the course of a dual-craft manoeuvre'. The planes crashed on agricultural area. According to information received on Wednesday from the Press Department of the Ministry of Defence, the pilots of the aircraft catapulted, but both were injured and were taken to hospital.

Investigation into the accident has so far ascertained that the flying task was carried out in clouds, under complex circumstances, and the accident occurred during the manoeuvre for reasons unknown so far.

Politburo Discusses Roundtable, Other Issues
LD1503221989 Warsaw PAP in English
1958 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—PUWP CC Political Bureau met here today to assess the socio-political situation in this country, with particular regard to developments in the biggest academic centres.

The Political Bureau discussed the state of the "round table" talks and examined chances of their favourable conclusion. The meeting took a stance on the planned amendments to the electoral law and to the Polish Constitution.

The Political Bureau examined and adopted a plan of ceremonies to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi aggression on Poland—the outbreak of World War Two.

Poland's isolation in the struggle against the Nazi invader resulted from a faulty political and military doctrine of the leading circles of interwar Poland who wrongly understood processes of changes in the international situation.

Poland which is surrounded by friendly nations who experienced atrocities of war and which neighbours on states which want to consolidate cooperation and security has—owing to her alliances, especially the one with the Soviet Union, and to her defensive policy—guarantees of the durability and inviolability of her borders.

We are looking from this position at possibilities of constructive changes in relations with the FRG on the basis of the letter and spirit of the 1970 agreement, of new qualitative progress in cooperation with other European states, and of contribution—to the best of Poland's abilities—to shaping the world's security.

During this year's observances, the PUWP along with the whole nation wishes to pay the highest tribute to all Poles in Poland and abroad who courageously fought with sacrifice and honour in the country and on all fronts, also to those who found respect for the struggle and blood spilled for the fatherland only years after.

The Political Bureau wishes for the September anniversary to become an occasion, particularly for the young generation of Poles, to get acquainted with the true past, free of biased emotions and seasonal evaluations.

Such an understanding of the past is necessary to strengthen processes of agreement and deep economic and political reforms which are a contemporary expression of the unity of Poles and their ability to meet the challenges of the contemporary world.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the work and draft legal acts regulating denominational relations in this country.

The Political Bureau heard a report on the recent meeting of the executive of the Warsaw PUWP Committee with the first secretaries of basic party cells from Warsaw-based workplaces which was attended by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Roundtable Subteam for Health Ends Debates
LD1503140789 Warsaw PAP in English
2323 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The debates of the 'round table' subteam for health ended here today as its members adopted a final protocol embodying joint decisions. Members of the team were at one in their opinion that the issues pertaining to health protection can become a model for cooperation between all social forces in Poland on the basis of national health program. The sides opted for the radical reform in financing the health service and suggested that a health fund be set up to provide an additional source of finance.

The debates were co-chaired by Andrzej Wojtczak, Wojciech Guglas, Zofia Kuratowska and Anna Grzymislawska.

Participants in the meeting pointed out that it is necessary to reform social welfare and to adopt a new law on the issue. The sides agreed that the reform should consist in the broadening of forms and kinds of welfare benefits as well as the creation of new principles of financing and simplified organizational structures.

The sides reached full agreement on disposable medical instruments, medicines and medical equipment. They pointed out that it is absolutely necessary to fully satisfy the demand, particularly as regards the disposable equipment. The meeting came out for the promotion of the home production of the equipment as well as medicines.

The meeting deemed it necessary to create a new model of industrial health service to concern all the employees irrespective of the form of the work establishment's ownership. There was a postulate to rely, in this domain, on ILO [International Labor Organization] Convention No. 161 and the organization's other recommentations of the year 1985.

Jaruzelski, Reporters Discuss Roundtable Talks
LD1603094389 Warsaw PAP in English
2135 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Wojciech Jaruzelski today met journalists to discuss questions of the "round table" debates and the expected results of the dialogue that is now under way. Also raised were tasks of the party and mass media under new socio-political conditions.

Jaruzelski answered questions of journalists concerning domestic and international repercussions of the "round table" talks and democratic changes making progress in Poland.

Jaruzelski Addresses Warsaw PZPR Meeting

AU1503112489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Speech by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at a conference of the Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee in Warsaw on 11 March]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! Thank you for inviting me to your meeting. I have come not just to deliver a speech, but also to listen to you, draw conclusions, and to try to implement them to the best of our ability. You have supplied much in the way of encouragement for this.

I remember our last meeting 2 years ago, in February 1987. I said then that we should avoid situations where directives are issued at top party levels, but there is no reaction at the bottom. A lot has improved recently in this respect. No doubt this is one of the effects of the 10th Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. I am convinced this plenum will supply even more results.

What is the greatest value of today's meeting? It is the atmosphere surrounding it, not a state of tension and nervousness, but a state of creative excitement. A major component of this atmosphere is the review of party forces, a review of their condition and of their ability to march shoulder to shoulder, to use a military expression.

I heard one comrade say recently that the bonds between party members are weakening. I consider this to be a very important and disturbing signal. And yet it is this kind of meeting that provides the best testimony of our feeling of communion, and meetings like this should take place in various party circles, throughout the entire party, and all over the country. At the same time, these meetings illustrate our common strength. We must shake off various complexes and anxieties, even of they are justified, and realize that we can attain our goals if we remain together, implement the party line together, and win over working people to our cause.

This should be encouraged by opening the doors of our party premises to everyone, including nonparty people, veterans, and especially young people.

I fully agree that we can win over the young generation only by providing it with the material conditions for activity, and by giving it the freedom to express its dissatisfaction, which is constructive if it results in positive action.

We have been making it clear many times over in recent years that the party does not exist for itself alone. It exists for the workers class, working people, and Poland. That is an elementary truth. However, party cells also do not exist for themselves alone, but for the entire party. And finally, the party apparatus also does not exist for itself alone. It exists for the sake of the elected party authorities. That is how one should view the socialization of party work.

More than one party member, seized with bitterness and doubts, asks himself and others: What was all your effort for? What has your commitment to the party brought you? What have you got to show for it? The answer to this is brief: nothing and many things. Nothing, because it provides no privileges and concessions. Many things, because it makes one feel that one has done his duty and provides a feeling of dignity earned by above-average service to Poland at a time of a great historic test.

I have said from various rostrums that because we have chosen a pioneering road, there are no and there will be no ready schemes and patterns to guide us. The socialist renewal initiated by the party calls for an equal measure of independence and responsibility. That is why civic and party initiatives are so important, and that is why we have to listen so carefully to what people say and experience what they feel. We should assess our own decisions and actions from this angle. This we should do more and more thoroughly and capably.

In this very hall, we have experienced many past events of our Polish and party history. From this very rostrum, various assessments and words have been uttered over the past decades. Some of these assessments were condemned at first, but were accepted later. Also, some assessments that were welcomed at first passed into oblivion later.

There are profound changes taking place at present. But we are never changing and will never change our standard ideas. What we must change is our practice, because past practice prevents an effective implementation of these ideas.

It is worth constantly reminding ourselves of the road we are following, and considering what ought to be changed along this road in the light of the report adopted by the 13th plenum in 1983, which discussed the origins, course, and effects of crises in the history of people's Poland. It is necessary to refer to these assessments and apply them. Most of all, it is necessary to compare them with the latest experience and today's reality, so that conclusions for tomorrow may be drawn.

Comrades! The "roundtable" should not be assessed in shopkeeper's terms, in terms of profit or loss. We must reject allegations that the solutions now under discussion were extorted from us. This was no act of grace on our part, no present for the opposition. Nor was it a present for us from the opposition. It is simply a chance for Poland.

Theoretically, there are three choices: Extraordinary measures and an iron fist policy, or capitulation and a wait for clemency, or accord and struggle in constructing

a socialist parliamentary democracy that is meant to strengthen Poland in the final reckoning and secure its harmonious and modern development.

We have made the third choice.

We made followed a long and strenuous road leading up to the current phase of national accord, or national dialogue, to be more precise. Naturally, there are and there will be many differences between us and our political opponents. However, the point is to let that which offers a chance for a rapprochement overcome the divisions.

The "roundtable" is a major step in this direction. It is a valuable experience in creating and testing the rules for moving ahead while preserving our political and ideological identity.

However, the "roundtable" is merely the first step. Subsequent steps are bound to show whether we are really able to attain normality and democratic and economic effectiveness. A well-known saying goes: If you are scared of wolves, do not go into the forest. Fears must be understood. We all harbor such fears, we all feel responsible for what is happening today and what will happen tomorrow in Poland. What is more, as someone has correctly observed, various facts, not only from the past, but also from the present, justify such concern. Therefore we must keep our eyes open wide.

However, dear comrades, I would be giving a very poor assessment of our achievements, our program, and our political and moral forces if I were too scared to face the challenge of democracy. The party does not want to be and cannot be an invalid, supported by various prosthetic aids. We are capable of speaking with our own voice and acting militantly and effectively. After all, we are not a defeated party. On the contrary, we are a party that has managed to embark upon a new road, to overcome its own bad inheritance. This is not a retreat. This a regrouping, an emergence from the "trenches."

Principle-mindedness can be assessed in various ways. It is notable that this principle-mindedness is going hand-in-hand with an opening up toward new, creative ideas, and that the supreme intention of this principle-mindedness is the welfare of man, society, and the socialist state. This principle-mindedness assumes the greatest importance when it is backed by deeds.

But there are people who pretend to be guardians of socialism, but who in fact are only acting as critics of other people's work. This is nothing other than opportunism and a lack of faith in the workers class, the wisdom of working people, and in the party's ability to lead factually, not bureaucratically.

Our real party potential often remains dormant, subdued, and forced to take the defensive by the burdens of everyday life and by the impudence and persistence of the opponent and the aggressiveness of his extremist factions. That, comrades, is why we should take particular care to increase and consolidate the forces of the leftwing and the coalition of patriotism in the face of the coalition of stupidity and irresponsibility.

In every period of history, various distortions occur in the political topography of every country and every system. Long before we heard the cry "Down with the communists," we also heard in this very city the cry "Down with the Jews." We are also concerned about and even feel hurt by anti-Soviet excesses, especially now that such grand and valuable processes of perestroyka are taking place in the Soviet Union. Therefore, I share your concern and anxiety, as well as your condemnation of various extremely bad recent episodes. The law and the authorities "may not be speedy, but they are just". And they will be just. We realize that if various "swings" go beyond certain limits, they may become dangerous. We must think in terms of the state, which, from a historical angle, is not one of our strong points. Therefore, one cannot remain indifferent to destabilization. The socialist state must consolidate its effectiveness not through periodic convulsions and upheavals, but through democracy, discipline, and a respect for the law.

On the other hand, we should not become nervous. Reality cannot be changed just by making a noise. Although, in the biblical story, the walls of Jericho were brought down by the sound of trumpets, socialism will not be brought down by noise. It is easier to damage it by means of bad work. In any case, those who are making such noise and so frequently are only discrediting themselves. Our nation's feeling of responsibility is also illustrated by the fact that the firm majority of our citizens have criticized, and even expressed disgust at, the excesses that violate custom and elementary political culture.

As a party, a ruling party, and body of authority, we have lost our attraction. There is nothing negative about that. We have lost our attraction in the sense that society always has us in its field of vision, and that we are responsible for everything. The opposition is also losing its attraction, and is no longer a forbidden fruit. This will be a measure of its real concern for Poland's fate.

Comrades! Look around this hall, and multiply what you see by thousands and hundreds of thousands. There are over 2 million of us. And how many millions more are there who, even though they bear grudges and grievances against us, nevertheless trust us because they know that the party is the force that is capable of leading Poland through the most difficult times safely and calmly? These people believe that our party is establishing a proper work style, and harbors a profound feeling of responsibility for leadership and a feeling of service toward the workers class and nation. Here I wish to stress with certain satisfaction that I explained the party's role of service for the first time 3 years ago, in May 1989, at the pre-congress Warsaw PZPR conference.

There are difficult tasks ahead of us. As some comrades today have rightly said, we have lost the habit of conducting real political polemics. Instead of convincing people, we have been making decisions. We have ignored the old Leninist principle whereby the greatest achievement for each party member is when he wins over just one nonparty person for our cause. Now we have to remind ourselves quickly of the rules of the political struggle and learn to defend our basic ideological and social principles.

One comrade, I am sorry, but I did not catch his name, spoke quite dramatically about the wage problems of drivers in his enterprise. He insisted that the party should convince young people that it is the leading force. Intelligent words are very important and necessary. However, it is facts that decide. It is facts that repel or attract people.

Of course, facts result from specific systems, mechanisms, and decisions. However, it is the implementation of these facts that determines their significance and social value, and it is the party's duty to see to it that these facts are implemented correctly and to safeguard justice during the process.

The times when it was possible to simply issue decrees and put up notices are past. Today it is necessary to prove in practice that the presence of the party in enterprises is a real necessity, and that the workers are counting on the party inside their enterprises and would feel worse without it.

We will not let party organizations be removed from the factories. But that is not enough, for it is possible to be present inside the factories in a formal sense, but still have no influence. It is possible to be a fossil, instead of an active organism. As you have correctly said, this means that people must realize that party organizations constitute a vanguard of creative thinking and effective action.

We may be right, but that is not enough. It is necessary to convince people why we are right. This is a major task for the ideological and propaganda front. We can share the criticism of some party members about some of the phenomena in this sphere. There is no doubt that suitable conclusions should be drawn from that. But even that is not enough. Every single party member must carry out his own propaganda. He must convince others by means of his own words, deeds, and attitudes.

Ordinary people usually follow other people who are bold, communicative, and efficient. They do not follow those who are weak, timid, uncertain, and ineffective. That this is so is confirmed by the activity of specific party bodies, both strong ones and weak ones. The point is that there should be as few weak ones and as many strong ones as possible. However, this calls for close contacts with young people. It calls for a struggle against soullessness and a solving of problems. Unfortunately, we have in our party ranks, and even among the leadership, "people made of wood" who are inert and insensitive. These are de facto opponents to our cause who cause no less damage than the political opponents. They are a kind of subversion inside our own ranks, and probably do not even realize this.

We all know what has to be changed and repaired in Poland. Our party does not have to resit an examination on this subject. The biggest problem is how to make these changes. Unfortunately, this subject still forms a "blank spot" in most debates. Therefore, we are ready to apply any concrete suggestions, regardless of where and who they come from.

The same principle ought to be applied to internal party life. The reality of the 1980's has been made clear on several occasions, and the tasks of the party have been precisely laid down in many resolutions. Unfortunately, the implementation of these resolutions leaves a lot to be desired. I have already had occasion to say that the 20th plenum of the previous Central Committee and 4th plenum of the present Central Committee adopted resolutions that were very important for improving party work and achieving greater effectiveness. I have read these resolutions recently. I am afraid that there is not much in them that we have managed to implement. Therefore, we must return to the old tasks. It is not enough to adopt a good and justified resolution. What is important is to implement this resolution meticulously and step by step.

Comrades! Democracy, pluralism, sovereignty, identity—these words contain great social and moral substance, and not only show that man does not live by bread alone, but also that he cannot live by bread alone. It is difficult to listen to lofty speeches when all around us there is a harsh reality consisting of inflation, a poor market, a housing problem, pollution, bureaucracy, poor education and health services, and so on. We all know these difficult problems by heart. They have also been discussed today. So, what should be done?

The path of reforms has been mapped out. We must follow it. We must cover the distance. This cannot be done dry-shod, nor are shortcuts possible. We would be cheating ourselves if we tried to do that. Such is the price we are paying for the halfway solutions we applied over many years. We are now paying for, on the one hand, bureaucratic inhibitions, make-believe actions, and sloppiness, and on the other hand, social opposition toward economically necessary decisions, and an inadequate awareness of the fact that we are like a factory owner, who has to think about the present and future of his enterprise.

We have to learn all this, and this involves a great role for the party, but not as an institution that thinks about and decides which mechanisms should be used for what economic objective, but as a force that is concerned that the strategic development of our economy conforms to

the vital objectives of socialism and social justice, closely combined with efficiency, and that party people at every post discharge their duties properly.

The following question was asked today: When and how will the price race end? I think a second part of this question was missing, namely: When will the wages race finish? Prices and wages are interdependent. However, because the question was about prices, I will try to give a brief reply. Do not consider what I am about to say as a dodge, because a lot of time and a lot of specialized arguments are necessary to explain the subject in full.

Many of you are bound to remember how, between 1971 and 1975, the nation was promised every year at this rostrum and other rostrums that food prices would be frozen the following year. This usually encountered loud applause and a so-called positive mood. After all, society was and still is sensitive on this subject.

Now we are taking a different road, reaping the fruits of that policy, unfortunately. I think this is a concise answer to the question, and the essence of the matter is to follow this difficult road, in fact a crusade, within the framework of the new rules of the economic game, and finally attain normality and economic equilbrium, having overcome the anomalies that are still making our lives difficult.

Someone mentioned the Yugoslav road of self-government and democracy, and the very difficult problems this country is now experiencing. Let us add Hungary and Poland to this, and ask ourselves what has happened. Was democracy responsible? Did democracy bring about the events of 1980? Was self-government responsible? Leaving aside the differences between them, the crisis phenomena in the countries I have mentioned share a common denominator. This denominator is heavy debts. Most of these debts are consumer-based—a consumption of credits. This has to be paid for today, and dearly, too. To this let us add our other Polish upheavals, such as the profound collapse of 1980 and 1981, the troublesome sanctions, the reduced working day, the population growth, and so on. Apart from the mistakes of the past, it is these factors that explain our economic reality.

That does not mean that we are standing still, powerless. Only by bold and radical moves can we overcome what used to seem possible to overcome "in our sleep."

Comrades, allow me to express a certain amount of dissatisfaction with today's debate, which was generally creative and full of dedication. Many people complained about improper rules and mechanisms, but received no explanations. And yet these matters could have been explained directly. After all, we have in this hall representatives of central and regional state institutions that govern our socioeconomic lives.

Therefore, I think such issues should be explained and even resolved as soon as they have been uttered. Unfortunately, we are still unable to communicate with each other at the same level. This does not just apply to today's meeting. As someone said today, the problem calls for a clear definition of the role of party bodies in central offices, in fact in all offices. The problem involves establishing their responsibility for and influence on a successful course of events. There is a lot to be done here. I consider our meeting today as a certain signal which we are going to focus on.

That we produce the proverbial fire without heat can be attributed to our being Polish, and therefore, is also the fault of the party. And yet it is increasingly clear that it is not an avalanche of words and exhibition of intentions that achieves expected results, but a tough and persistent implementation of these words and intentions. We must keep this in mind all the time.

We are a very emotional society, easily affected by various moods. Every now and then we are overwhelmed by a wave of pessimism and doubts. Rumors, unjustified generalizations, and malicious manipulation of facts penetrate us too easily. We should shake off our inferiority complex, and dissociate ourselves from various demagogues.

It is those who conceal the evil past or paint it in artificial colors, or who possess a selective memory, that should feel ashamed today. There are also "innocent" people who apply the "stop thief" philosophy. We should not provide them with a place of refuge.

Does that mean we have to become bogged down in legendary party deeds of the past? Are we supposed to reap the interest accrued by the moral capital of the past? No, by no means.

Allow me a personal observation. I found myself on the left bank of the Vistula in Warsaw on 17 January 1945, as a reconnaissance operator for my regiment. My job was to survey the regiment's line of march. I will never forget the shock caused by the sight of Warsaw's empty streets, nor the excitement of the memorable parade through the rubble. So when today I see in the very same place lines in front of shops and filthy shop windows, I begin to wonder what has happened to the people of Warsaw, who earned the world's respect with their energy and ability to rebuild their city.

However, today we seem to be drawing another breath. A lot has been done in previous years, and a lot is being done now. The Warsaw 2000 program has every chance of being implemented. That is good testimony of the energy and initiative of the Warsaw PZPR Committee and of you, comrades.

Ahead of us are elections that are markedly different from previous ones. The point is no longer to wake people up and make them go to the ballot boxes. The

point is now to make them vote for the best people. May the best people be us party members, members of the allied parties, and, of course, nonparty people who support socialism.

There is perhaps no better place for the party to take part in the preelection campaign than the city in which we live and work. Apart from a few prewar slums, there is not a single piece of wartime rubble waiting to be removed in Warsaw. Who is it that changed this devastated waste into a living, throbbing city? Polish hands and minds did. But who decided to place the capital of Poland where it used to be? Who organized the collective effort? Who inspired faith in one's own strength, at a time when everyone was succumbing to despair? There is only one answer. It was our party, the Polish leftwing. All the other Polish political forces were more interested in breaking up what was already in pieces.

Therefore, let us not let all these historic arguments and trump cards accumulated by a Polish workers party be taken away from us.

Comrades! I realize how much personal commitment you are applying to your posts, and how difficult it sometimes is to reconcile professional and social work.

I would like you not only to accept from the party leadership our circumstantial greetings, but also share our conviction that it is you, the party aktivs who constitute the sociopolitical fabric without which the party could not act, and could not even exist. The speed of the party's restructuring and its place and role in the political and economic changes depends mainly on you.

These changes are our future. I am also convinced that they are our success, in other words, a victory for Poland.

Thank you very much for your committment to the common cause. I congratulate you on your well-performed party and civic duty, and I wish health, happiness, and all success to you, the party collectives among which you work, and your families.

PAP Reports 'Illegal' Assembly in Poznan

LD1503220389 Warsaw PAP in English
2035 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Poznan, March 15—An illegal assembly of young people protesting against the construction of a nuclear power plant in Klempicz took place in Poznan today.

The several-dozen group, mainly comprising secondary school students, marched through the old town district, disturbing traffic during rush hour. The demonstrators were stopped on several occasions by law enforcement forces and retreated to other streets.

The assembly took place on the eve of a legal manifestation planned for Thursday as the Wielkopolska civil action organized by the board of the Poznan branch of the Polish Ecological Club.

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A group of young ecologists protested against the decision by municipal authorities to cut down eight old, robust trees near the "Klimczok" department store in Bielsko Biala, southern Poland, today.

Official Remarks on Draft Associations Law, NZS

LD1603101689 Warsaw PAP in English
2205 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Following today's government meeting, PAP asked Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Gen. Zbigniew Pudysz for a statement on the draft new law on associations which was adopted by the Council of Ministers. Gen. Pudysz started in part:

One could say that the draft of this law was created in an unprecedented way and that the method in which it was elaborated—as the press put it at some time—is undoubtedly a novelty in the practice of creating law in our country. The original draft was worked out by a team composed of representatives of the government and the episcopate. It was then submitted to very broad social consultation. Hundreds of suggestions and proposals streamed into the government socio-political committee, among them even individual draft new laws on associations.

The draft law on associations then became the subject of "round table" debates. The final version worked out during the debates was submitted to government review and at present is being tabled to the Sejm.

I think that the key decision of the draft law is guaranteeing the citizens full freedom to associate within limits set out by the Constitution only and the legal order in force in the state. Such a solution is also fully in line with the norms of nternational law.

I deem the introduction of a court procedure of registering associations as another important matter as well as the decision that the legal measures stipulated in the law can be used with regard to associations only by courts. This entails fundamental curtailment of the interference of the administrative factor in the activities of associations despite the fact that administrative bodies retain certain supervisory powers.

I also deem as equally important the matter of expanding the associations possibilities of gaining resources for their statutory activities.

Eighty new associations were registered in 1986 while a year later already 179 and in 1988 almost 300. Refusals to register new organizations are at present sporadic

while the year 1986 saw 70 negative decisions being issued. Against this backdrop one could therefore state that the new law on associations will create legal guarantees to consolidate this policy which was formulated earlier on in documents, for instance from PUWP CC plenary sessions.

If the NZS Independent Student Association declares activities in line with the legal order in force and gives appropriate guarantees in this respect, then the matter of its registration, after an appropriate application is submitted, can be positively reviewed. I am stressing this kind of guarantee not without reason because some events which have taken place in the streets of Polish cities of late, with NZS activists and supporters taking part, must arouse warranted apprehensions.

I am not concealing the fact that the negotiations at the "round table" were difficult, at times even stormy. Nonetheless, following an hours-long discussion, through mutual concessions and compromise, a nearly full concordance regarding the version of the draft law was reached.

Rakowski Meets Student Association Members

LD1303213289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski met students, members of the Association of Polish Students [ZSP] today. The students spoke about the most important problems of this community, that is, welfare matters, grants, pauperization of the young intelligentsia and also, what they were doing to solve these problems. The premier was also interested in how ZSP members assess the position of their organization in specific higher education institutes.

Rakowski Chairs Council of Ministers Session

LD1603063689 Warsaw PAP in English 0030 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Poland's Council of Ministers had its meeting here today with Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski in the chair, the Government Press Office reported.

The Polish Government appraised the political and economic situation in this country and the to-date results of round table talks under way here. The meeting reviewed draft laws on associations, on amendemnts to the law on trade unions, and on trade unions of private farmers.

The cabinet assessed the materialization of the "key government tasks as regards youth, 1987-90", and specified further moves in this respect meant to promote full realization of the package. The programme covers a wide variety of measures relating to improvement in the material status of young families, housing issues, vocational adaptation, promotion of the most talented young people, living conditions of rural youth, development of education, problems of leisure time, fighting social pathology, and development of economic initiatives.

The government approved reports on the state of the observance of law and law abidingness and implementation of legislation on fighting social pathology, with the reports to be duly filed with parliament.

The number of offences detected last year in Poland dropped by 6.5 percent as compared with the previous year. Also, the crime rate has shrunk. Prosecution covered 13.2 percent fewer adults and 10.3 percent fewer minors last year. Also, the number of cases of burglary in public buildings has fallen, and the number of assaults posing a threat to man's life or health has dropped. Meanwhile, the number of cases of burglary in private apartments has gone up.

The number of offences committed under the influence of alcohol has fallen, a fact attributable to the overall waning of alcoholism in Poland. The number of cases when people got down to their business duties after alcohol ingestion last year dropped by 8.2 percent.

The number of cases of alcohol drinking on the job dropped by nearly a half. The number of offences punished under the law on work shirking prosecution dropped by 11.9 percent.

Crimes committed by minors continue to rank among the most negative phenomena of social pathology. Despite recorded drops in all categories of crimes committed by minors, the considerable share of crimes of this kind arouses anxiety.

The number of registered drug addicts fell by 3.2 percent and the number of drug poisoning cases dropped by 10 percent. The acreage of poppy and hemp growing has been decreased and pharmaceuticals are protected more effectively.

The government adopted a draft law on courts handling economic cases. In line with the bill, state economic arbitration would be dissolved. Economic jurisdiction will be created and adjusted to the new economic model, especially to the principle of equal treatment of all economic subjects.

The Council of Ministers adopted a law on notariate. The circle of people pursuing the profession of public notary will be decisively expanded. There will be a possibility to create private notarial offices.

The government adopted a draft law on amendments to the law on arable and forest land. The aim of the amendments is to attain greater effectiveness in the protection of land.

The Council of Ministers also adopted draft amendments to the law on housing for the Armed Forces. The changes will be conducive to improving flat management in the Army, in line with the state regulations governing housing management contained in the housing law.

Olechowski, U.S. Envoy Attend Experts Meeting

LD1503230789 Warsaw PAP in English
2140 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—A nation-wide meeting of experts on American studies, organized by the Polish Institute of International Affairs PISM, was held here today with the participation of Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski and U.S. Ambassador to Poland John R. Davis.

The U.S. officially recognized the Polish Government on January 30, 1919, which was the announcement of establishing diplomatic relations. Soon afterwards, on April 16 Woodrow Wilson in his cable to Jozef Pilsudski told the latter about appointing Hugh Gibson the first U.S. extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to Poland. On May 2, he presented his credentials and Poland's first ambassador in Washington Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski started his mission on September 1, 1919.

Recalling these facts, Olechowski pointed out that the contacts of Poles with the North-American Continent dated back to the start of the 17th century. Discussing the present Polish-U.S. relations and their prospects, he stressed that particularly the first half of the 1980s was a period of difficult test of these relations. The started dialogue and the visit by George Bush made it possible to take an important step. The minister emphasized that Poland came out for the development of dialogue and cooperation, particularly in economy, credits and finance. We come out for broad dialogue on the possibly highest level, Olechowski said.

In his statement, the U.S. ambassador discussed the most important elements of bilateral relations, deeming the existence of a great number of Polish Americans in the U.S. part of these relations. He voiced his conviction that thanks to the changes taking place in Poland, this country would find a worthy place on the map of Europe.

Head of the PISM department for North American Professor Longin Pastusiak pointed to a significant contribution of American diplomacy to the process of Poland regaining her independence at the Paris peace conference after World War I and to the shaping of the Polish state after World War II. The post-war Polish-U.S. relations went through their ups and downs, particularly in the period of the cold war.

While, the period of spectacular improvement took place between 1972 and 1981, which was expressed by as many as four summit meetings. Professor Pastusiak forwarded an assertion that in their entire history Polish-U.S. bilateral relations were always somewhat warmer than East-West relations, which stems from the specific nature of mutual interests and traditions. He voiced also his conviction that pragmatism of the George Bush team created good premises so that on the threshold of their second 70-year period Polish-U.S. relations could achieve the state of full normalization, the level much higher than now and the dynamics in all planes.

Remark on U.S.-Polish Ties

LD1503231189 Warsaw PAP in English
2210 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Tonight, on the occasion of the scientific session organized by the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs (PISM) to mark the 70th anniversary of official Polish-American relations, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski and U.S. Ambassador to Poland John R. Davis presented their opinions on the prospects of Polish-American Economic cooperation in short utterances for the Polish TV news bulletin tonight.

Minister Olechowski said his recent talks with Secretary of State James Baker show that United States seems to be ready to enter a more active period in their relations with Poland and opening up to cooperation in various spheres, particularly in the matters of special interest to US i.e. in the sphere of economy, finance and credits.

Ambassador Davis said that while considering the possibilities of developing economic cooperation with Poland the United States has to take into consideration many factors, like Poland's position in the International Monetary Fund and in Paris Club. All that is being analysed in Washington and in the other capitals of the creditor nations.

The American ambassador said that after participants in the Round Table reach agreement, these matters will be once more and with due attention discussed on all forums. The ambassador concluded his utterance by stating that the United States is particularly interested in the joint venture type of investment in Poland.

Minister Announces Restructuring of Industry

LD1603094989 Warsaw PAP in English
2131 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—There was not enough courage and determination for such a move. Now we are acting under a forced situation but an important thing is that this is necessary and logical, Industry Minister Wilczek told a press conference here today as he presented the directions of his ministry's work in connection with the political and economic situation in Poland.

The directions boil down to the profound change of the structure of economy, especially limiting the production of the industry of raw materials. It is time to start concentration of production in the most efficient enterprises, Welczek said.

This concept would, perhaps, have to mature if a proposal were not made at the round table to introduce a five-day working week in mining industry. Its adoption will cut coal extraction by some 30 million tonnes a year.

The programme provides for continued coal, electricity, and heating supplies at the unchanged level for the market, municipal needs, farming, and exports. The reserves will then be looked for in energy-intense industries, namely, by cutting coke production by 680 thousand tonnes, closing down 6 most-exhausted coke batteries, cutting the production of pig iron by about 900 thousand tonnes, liquidation of old-fashioned furnaces, cutting the production of steel by about 1.3 million tonnes and of rolled products by some 1 million tonnes, cutting (in the first stage) the production of cement by 1.3 million tonnes and closing down 3 cement plants using the energy-intense "wet" technology, etc.

Olesiak Interviewed on Agricultural Economy

PM2702094689 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Feb 89 pp 3-4

[Interview with Deputy Premier Kazimierz Olesiak, minister of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy, by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Hanna Smolanska; date, place not given]

[Text] [Smolanska] I suspect my question is not very original, but it simply begs to be asked: Will our agriculture benefit from the fact that you are at the same time minister and deputy premier?

[Olesiak] My task as deputy premier is to assist the minister in solving the difficult problems involved in the development of the agriculture sector, which are to a large extent interlinked with the overall economic situation.

[Smolanska] So have you been assisting the minister already?

[Olesiak] Oh, yes. The minister would have found it difficult to fight for such causes as, say, the need to ensure at least minimum conditions for further agricultural development as envisaged in the Central Annual Plan, the National Socioeconomic Plan, or the consolidation plan, whereas the deputy premier takes part in all meetings and can more easily influence the content of their documents and in general the line of the whole economic policy, including its priorities.

[Smolanska] You said: "minimum conditions"...

[Olesiak] Yes, because they are limited by the overall economic situation and by the accumulated consequences of the neglect of the economy over the past 40 years. As you know, during these 40 years the proverbial "green light" for the agriculture and food economy was frequently turned on and then quickly turned off again.

[Smolanska] In any case, it was usually turned on when things were already in bad shape...

[Olesiak] ...When things were in very bad shape and when we were yet again in dire straits in the state agricultural and food economy policy precipitated directly by their poor condition. And as soon as the situation became slightly better the "green light" would be turned on again. Now our task is to ensure that the priority promised to this sector of the economy does not remain a meaningless declaration, an empty slogan.

[Smolanska] What guarantees are there to safeguard this priority?

[Olesiak] First, the improvement of the condition of the whole economy and, second, more extensive industrial supplies to agriculture. All the data we have analyzed, including the figures for the early eighties, indicate that, even as poorly supplied by industry as it was, agriculture did meet the demands made on it. We must remember that the food market is still the best market in our economy. Unfortunately, industry—which should have supported and assisted the effort made by the agricultural sector—did not prove equal to the task. It failed to provide enough tools and chemical products to ensure crop protection, the latter being particularly important for any future agricultural development. We certainly had the necessary official resolutions and even constitutional provisions; unfortunately, we never saw their implementation. Even today industry only sets aside 4-5 percent of its output to meet agricultural requirements, just as it did in the early eighties, although—let me remind you—the envisaged figure was 8 percent, and that was supposed to be reached as early as 1985.

[Smolanska] How are these things handled in the West?

[Olesiak] An agricultural system suffering a comparable condition in the West would receive 16, 18, or even as much as 20 percent industrial assistance. That would be a considerable boost, particularly in the technological field, since technology encourages structural, economic, and production changes in agriculture.

[Smolanska] Would this be possible here?

[Olesiak] We would have to carry out transfers of financial and material assets. How could we carry them out now, in the existing situation? Well, the only way would be to withdraw resources from elsewhere to give them to agriculture, that is, to liquidate certain inefficient enterprises working for other sectors and then launch production for agriculture at these enterprises.

[Smolanska] Are you planning to change the profile of any specific enterprises this year?

[Olesiak] Not at the moment, but we are considering, for example, launching production of mini-tractors, trailers, and other agricultural machinery at some of the enterprises that are being liquidated. We must also augment our resources for the development of the chemical industry, since this is where the consequences of mismanagement are most acute. Investment project tasks embodied in the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1985-90 are approximately 40 percent complete, and we are already in the 4th year of the plan.

[Smolanska] I expect you sometimes harbor unkind thoughts about your predecessors.

[Olesiak] My predecessors did what they could, and I prefer not to blame them because some day I in turn may be similarly blamed by my successors. The problem lies not with my predecessors but with the fact that the creators of our overall socioeconomic policy underestimated the importance of agriculture. We sang songs about Nowa Huta, we developed industry, and we were very enthusiastic about that sector of the economy, whereas we were only reminded about agriculture when things went badly wrong. That attitude must be changed and everyone in the government must realize this.

[Smolanska] Do we know that they do?

[Olesiak] We have had the premier's declaration: He is certainly aware that things must change. But are all government members equally aware of it?

[Smolanska] In any case there is no strong pro-agriculture lobby in the government that could match the industry lobby, is there?

[Olesiak] No, there is not. At the moment we are having talks with Minister Wilczek on measures that could be introduced to improve the supply of at least a selected range of agricultural machinery.

[Smolanska] Can farmers expect things to get easier for them this spring, then?

[Olesiak] They should no longer have such problems with buying crop protection products as they have had over the past several years, although this will require a considerable effort on our part—especially since there is no significant influx of hard currencies at the beginning of the year.

[Smolanska] I do not know whether it is true, but I have heard that only 5 percent of our revenue from exports of agricultural products and foodstuffs will be allocated to importing products needed by the agricultural sector.

[Olesiak] Well, it is like this: A much larger sum is earmarked for imports, while the 5 percent you quoted represents the agriculture minister's hard currency fund which is, among other things, set apart to finance scientific and technical advancement and assist international cooperation designed to further that advancement. The Central Annual Plan allocates the sum of $170 million to imports of crop protection products, and we will do our best to ensure that the required range of these reaches the farmers in good time. As regards distribution of revenues, we believe that you cannot justify a situation in which a key sector in increasing the exports of food and agricultural products to the point where they represent the second largest group in the overall value of our exports does not command a sizable fund to finance scientific and technological development or cooperation with foreign experts.

[Smolanska] The value of the recent increases of contract sale prices introduced by the government is already beginning to dwindle. Have they brought any tangible results? Have they stimulated contract sales at all?

[Olesiak] The first results can only become apparent this year and in the next few years. As regards milk, we have already registered increased prices for livestock heifers. The January count indicates that, at 2 percent, the rate of decrease of the cow stock is minimal.

[Smolanska] This is because the priority accorded to crop production has led to certain distortions.

[Olesiak] That policy was correct in the early eighties because you must have bread and animal feed, but it seems that we pursued it for too long. At the time when I was taking over the agriculture sector milk production was already languishing and cattle breeding was actually in decline. This had to be stopped somehow.

[Smolanska] How do things look now?

[Olesiak] I have already mentioned the situation in cattle and milk production. As regards hogs, the situation is more complicated. The priority here is for more feed, but unfortunately this year the supply of animal feed is limited.

[Smolanska] And so our much-advertised demonopolization becomes progressively eroded and somehow gets washed away...

[Olesiak] As the price system stands now, we have the negotiated prices for the means of production and, unfortunately, continued official prices for the contracted products. This state of affairs must not continue: Even if we were to increase contract purchase prices, it would be a temporary measure that in the long run would resolve nothing. The freeze which I have put on price increases of certain machines, tractors, and combine harvesters is a similar measure. This is why I intend to propose the abolition of official contract purchase prices,

with the minimum price threshold maintained at the present level. This would apply to all agricultural produce, which would open the way to initiative, release untapped potential, and create healthy market competition. It will be a difficult operation. Previous governments tried to implement it, and were brought down by it. All the same, we must eventually force it through and survive the consequences. If necessary, we should introduce it gradually. Consequently, I will continue to propose that we keep the negotiated contract purchase prices. The high food subsidies, which already total more than Z2 trillion, should be returned to the population in the form of wage increases and, finally, negotiated food prices should be introduced.

[Smolanska] This would mean compensation payments, would it not? Our past experience of these has not been pleasant...

[Olesiak] That is why I insist that the whole thing should be scrupulously calculated and the appropriate proportion of the subsidy should be added to everybody's paycheck. Let me reiterate: It must be done fairly, and it would be worthwhile even to give people a little more than the calculated compensation. In the long run it would be beneficial to the national economy and to the whole population, because it would bring us handsome returns in the shape of increased production and better food supply.

[Smolanska] Does this mean there is a chance of our having a normal market?

[Olesiak] Yes. Farmers would be interested no longer exclusively in what prices they can secure for their produce but also in increasing production so they can secure maximum returns from their farms. This would create healthy competition. And the prices? It is not true that they would rocket out of all control. In the beginning they would naturally go up, but only in the beginning because of the competition—not only in agriculture but also, and on a much larger scale, in the food processing industry. There would be many small firms, many cooperative and state companies, and so on.

[Smolanska] Just as it is now in the vegetable market?

[Olesiak] Precisely.

[Smolanska] So we would have only these two normal markets. Perhaps this is why it is so difficult to believe that the whole food market can function normally—because we have no reference point.

[Olesiak] Perhaps. But this is how it is. It is enough to analyze the movement of vegetable market prices over the past 10 years. It will become obvious that price increases were smallest there. So what is there to be afraid of?

[Smolanska] Exactly: What is the government afraid of?

[Olesiak] The government is not afraid. We were prepared to abolish the monopoly system completely as of 1 January.

[Smolanska] So why did you not do it?

[Olesiak] There was resistance from the OPZZ. Their position is as follows: Increase production first, then abolish rationing.

[Smolanska] Is that possible?

[Olesiak] Of course not. As long as there is rationing there will be no production increase. I try to explain this to people wherever I can. Production will simply not develop without competition and without a free market. The only thing that will grow is resentment. Farmers will keep shouting that it is not worth their while; consumers will have their ration cards and a poor choice of goods on offer; we will all live in an abnormal situation. In addition, decreased supplies of contracted meat will mean shortages even in the rationing system, and there will be no motivation to increase production even after the harvest.

[Smolanska] So what is going to happen?

[Olesiak] I want to propose that we at least introduce negotiated contract purchase prices.

[Smolanska] And at the same time maintain official food prices and enormous subsidies?

[Olesiak] Only for a few months. Later we could transform these subsidies into pay and introduce normal price relations for all food products. I believe this could perhaps be introduced in June. And that would be our last chance, because if we maintain these subsidies until next year, they will grow from Z2 trillion to Z4 trillion. No state budget in the world can cope with something like that. What we have now is a tangle of uncoordinated, jerky moves which lead nowhere. If we do not change this state of affairs we will continue to flounder in the same morass in which our former governments floundered and which led them to their downfall. In any case, our main concern is not about the government but about ways to ensure that our weary society can live a normal life and have a normal market.

[Smolanska] I wish you consistency in your efforts to achieve such normality for us. Thank you for talking to me.

'Inconsistency' in Bulgarian Restructuring

AU0103095789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 7

[Article by Zbigniew Klejn, TRYBUNA LUDU Sofia correspondent: "Not Enough Consistency"]

[Excerpts] For many years, Bulgaria caused wonder and envy with its stability and its ability to avoid crises. Today, these qualities are considered faults in Bulgaria, and are having an adverse effect on the course and speed of restructuring.

Speaking at the BCP Central Committee plenum toward the end of last year, Todor Zhivkov said: "The country's stable development, devoid of political, social, and economic upheavals, has meant that in many cases, our process of restructuring is encountering serious difficulties. The chief difficulty is that we have still not been able to find a satisfactory answer to the most important question—how to overcome the isolation of direct producers from the means of production, and consequently from some bodies of authority."

This BCP plenum took place almost 18 months after the July 1987 plenum which presented the program of Bulgarian perestroyka. Today, it is being said that this perestroyka is proceeding too sluggishly, and that its results are widely divergent from expectations.

For many years after the war, the order-directive system, demanding priority status for economic and political cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries, brought this country certain advantages. From 1956 onwards, Bulgaria enjoyed high economic growth, one of the highest in the world. In fact, practically all Bulgarian industry was built from scratch, including such branches as electronics and nuclear physics. Foreign trade became a major source of national income, and the standard of living merits recognition even today, despite the current shortages.

However, the rate of economic growth began to decline in the middle of the 1970's. The country failed to keep up with the need for a scientific and technological restructuring of the economy. Some 70 percent of the technical equipment of industry is out of date or in need of overhaul, especially in agriculture, the chemical and light industries, and agriculture. The falling quantities of goods in shops, accompanied by rising incomes (even unofficial incomes), is pushing up inflation, creating differences between the standard of living of individual groups, and causing social tension. In this situation, and I quote from an analysis by Professor Marko Markov from the Bulgarian Parliament, "major dissatisfaction about society's economic, social, and cultural situation has arisen. There is now a a danger that party policies will lose their attractiveness and the support of working people. There is a danger of social tension, which may explode if the wrong action is taken." [passage omitted]

The sharpest assessment of these misfortunes was made by Todor Zhivkov himself at the December 1988 BCP plenum. "We have failed to establish genuine economic preconditions," he said. "With the mechanism we now have, it is impossible to get through to man and his own interests. It is impossible to overcome his isolation from the means of production. The attempt to implement restructuring without a consistent reform to the political system has failed to provide favorable results. All this is because we have retained a series of old structures in order to prevent an upheaval. Indeed, there have been no upheavals, but we have also failed to perform the main task—to spread the restructuring to the bottom, to millions of people."

Ceausescu Visits Bucharest Machinery Enterprise

AU1503193889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1914 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 15/3/1989—On Wednesday, March 15, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, paid a working visit to the heavy-duty machine manufacturing enterprise and the production halls of the "Vulcan" enterprise on the "Berceni" industrial site in the Romanian capital city.

The analysis made on the occasion focused on questions of utmost importance for the activity of the enterprises seen round, for the entire Romanian machine-building industry, which is called upon to produce a larger number of highly complex, high-tech outfit, equipment and installations, needed in power engineering and the other branches of the national economy.

The visit started at the heavy-duty machine manufacturing enterprise, whose production will double this year over 1985. The share of power equipment, especially that intended for nuclear power plants, increased sensibly, conditions being thus created for the attainment of this quinquennium's target—namely, that power equipment should hold the main share in production—this year.

Special attention was paid to the analysis of the situation of deliveries to the nuclear power plant at Cernavoda, as well as to the thermoelectric plants now under construction in various parts of the country.

Addressing the managerial staff, President Nicolae Ceausescu said that the heavy-duty machine manufacturing enterprise in Bucharest boasted a very strong technical base and a valuable collectivity, having everything it needs to fulfil the important tasks it has been assigned, to continuously increase production, to manufacture high-tech, highly complex outfit and installations.

During his visit to the heavy-duty machine manufacturing enterprise, the RCP general secretary talked to workers, inquired into their activity, and urged them to work so that the national economy may be supplied the equipment it needs for power generation.

During the visit to the production halls of the "Vulcan" enterprise, an analysis was made of problems related to the development and updating of production and the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to that unit as concerns the supply of equipment and outfit intended for thermoelectric stations. The situation of deliveries of component parts for the generator sets to go on stream at various thermoelectric plants throughout the country and of subassemblies and spare parts for overhauling and current repairing operations was looked into. President Nicolae Ceausescu had words of appreciation for the achievements of the working people there and urged them to further work to turn the technical and professional potential of the enterprise to the best account, to boost productivity and the efficiency of all activities.

At the end of the visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu met members of the working people's councils of the heavy-duty machine manufacturing enterprise and the "Vulcan" enterprise.

Taking the floor, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed he had decided to visit the two enterprises since they both play a highly important role in the implementation of the national energy programme, in the production of equipment for the nuclear power plant at Cernavoda.

Considering that the two enterprises, which are equipped with modern facilities and boast strong collectivities of workers and experts, had had fine results, the speaker called attention to the fact that those results were below existing possibilities.

The RCP general secretary pointed out that the whole activity of the heavy-duty machine manufacturing enterprise should be radically improved and requested that a programme of measures be worked out as soon as possible, setting precise tasks and terms, by weeks and months, provide for a sensible growth of production in existing units, for the expansion of mechanization for the application of new technologies and the manufacture of complex, highly efficient machines and equipment, which may lead to the on-time, quality production of the equipment envisaged in the energy programme.

Referring to requirements concerning the production of the "Vulcan" enterprise, the speaker showed that there, too, more resolute efforts were needed to better organize the production activity as a whole and update technological processes, so that the results scored may be on a par with the technical and material base, with the existing human potential.

Ceausescu Receives New Australian Ambassador

AU1403190989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1747 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/3/1989—Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Tuesday, 14 March, Francis William Somerville Milne who presented his letters of credence as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Australia to Bucharest.

Handing over his credentials, Ambassador Francis William Somerville Milne conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu the best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of welfare and prosperity for the Romanian people, on behalf of the governor-general of Australia, of the Australian Government and people.

The ambassador's speech on the occasion refers to the relations between Australia and Romania, which have steadily grown in the last few years, and underscores the

significance of last year's official visit of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, a particularly important event in the chronicle of these relations.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the governor-general of Australia and the government cordial greetings as well as wishes of progress and prosperity to the Australian people.

In his speech of reply the Romanian head of state underlines with satisfaction the growing course of relations between Romania and Australia, which develop in accordance with the summit understandings, on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished Australia's ambassador success in fulfilling his mission, and assured him of the full support of the state council, the government and of his own.

The credentials presentation ceremony and the talk on the occasion were attended by Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, and Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and state council secretary.

Report on Speeches at 3 Mar RCP Meeting

AU0703202689

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 4 March, under the headline "Working Meeting on Economic Issues Held at the RCP Central Committee Headquarters" carries on pages 3 and 4, 16 reports ranging between 500 and 900 words on speeches made by full and candidate PEC members, by some RCP Central Committee members, and ministers at the working meeting held at the headquarters of the RCP Central Committee on 2 and 3 March.

All the speeches, which total about 11,000 words, deal in general terms with various facets of socioeconomic life, with particular emphasis on the plan fulfillment in the first 2 months of this year. All the speakers report on achievements in the field of activity which they represent, nevertheless, they admit the existence of some failures in their specific areas and pledge to work better in the future "in accordance with the theses and guidelines included in the speeches of the party secretary general" in order to improve activity and production.

Gheorghe Oprea is the only full PEC member whose 1,200-word speech is reported. On behalf of the workers in the chemical, petrochemical, and light industry and those working in the field of transport and telecommunications, Oprea pays tribute to Nicolae Ceausescu and mentions that "the achievements in the first 2 months of this year—although superior to the last year's achievements in the same period—do not reflect the material and human potential in these sectors of activity and the efforts made to develop and mobilize the production base." He admits that "there have been shortfalls in implementing the program of cooperation between various central departments and even between the units of the same central department" and reports that measures have been taken "to achieve the itemized production, primarily the production earmarked for exports." He assures Ceausescu that the working people who carry out their activity in the field of chemistry, petrochemistry, light industry, transports, and telecommunications "will do all they can to fulfill their tasks in an exemplary manner."

Speeches by the following PEC candidate members are reported: Ion Radu, deputy prime minister, who, on behalf of the working people in metallurgical and machine building industry, pays homage to Ceausescu and pledges to achieve better results and "increase cooperation within the council in charge of certain branches and the respective ministry;" Cornel Pacoste, deputy prime minister, who, on behalf of agricultural workers, reports that "preparations for the spring agricultural campaign have been successfully completed"; Ilie Matei, who, on behalf of Timis County people, admits "certain shortfalls in the activity of some economic units" and pledges "to recover arrears;" and Maria Ghitulica, who in her capacity of first secretary of the RCP Committee of Iasi County, expresses thanks for the new measures of raising pay and pensions and reports that "64 economic units have fulfilled their plans of commodity production in the first 2 months of this year" and reports on preparations that are being carried out for the spring agricultural campaign in Iasi County.

Speeches by various RCP Central Committee members with ministerial positions are also reported: Marin Enache, minister of metallurgical industry, who pledges "to complete all installations planned to be put into operation this year"; Eugeniu Radulescu, minister of machine building industry, who "in the light of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's requirements" reports that in his areas "we have achieved better results than in the same period last year;" Irimie Catargiu, minister of mines, who enumerates the measures that have been taken "to achieve a radical improvement of the whole activity" and "to improve the quality of the extracted coal;" Maria Flucsa, minister of light industry, who pledges "to pay greater attention to the qualitative aspects" in all the units of the light industry; as well as speeches by Ferdinand Nagy, minister state secretary of agriculture, who reports on the actions taken in agriculture to increase crops and the number of livestock and expresses thanks to Ceausescu "for everything you have been doing in order to develop and modernize our socialist agriculture and ensure the prosperity of the Romania village;" and Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei, who, talking about foreign trade, presents in general terms, achievements registered in the first 2 months of this year and pledges to Ceausescu that "we will work better and make use of our entire capacity of organizing the collectivity, we will increase cooperation between production and

exports and between the foreign trade system and the financial-banking system, and we will do everything in our power to fulfill the tasks bestowed on us by the party and personally by you."

Report on Debates Within Coordinating Councils

AU0703145989

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 4 March, under the headline "Debates Within Coordinating Councils for Activity Per Branch" carries a 3,500-word report on the 2 March debates of coordinating councils for various branches of activity, which was addressed "by 161 delegates" who expressed "feelings of great love and appreciation" for RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, "for his exemplary revolutionary activity and his brilliant contribution to working out and implementing the strategy of the homeland's socioeconomic development" and paid homage to Elena Ceausescu.

The report refers separately to the subjects that had been discussed in each of the seven councils.

The "Coordinating Council for the Activity in the Branches of Mining, Oil, Geology, and Electric and Thermal Power" discussed "the objectives of special and topical tasks" in the respective branches and examined "in a critical and self-critical manner the cause that led to shortfalls in fulfilling the plan for the first 2 months of this year." The participants in the discussions pledged to do all they can to fulfill "all the plan indicators for March, the first quarter, and the whole year."

The proceedings of the "Coordinating Council for the Activity in Chemical, Petrochemical, and Light Industry" also took place "in a critical and self-critical manner." The speakers referred in general terms to shortcomings that have occurred in their branches and made proposals for "increasing labor productivity and economic efficiency."

During the discussions in the "Coordinating Council for the Activity in the Field of Machine Building and Metallurgy" the speakers reportedly pointed to the fact that the results of the first 2 months of this year have not been up to the existing potential, criticized "the activity of some ministries, and central institutions," and pledged to improve the overall activity.

The participants in the discussions within the "Coordinating Council for the Activity of Timber Industry, Construction Materials, Cooperatives, and Small Scale Industry" reportedly emphasized the "positive results obtained in the first two months of this year" and the fact that "the production commodity plan has been fulfilled and overfulfilled," nevertheless, they also referred, in general terms, to some negative aspects in their activity, most of which concern "production and labor organization and the utilization of the production capacities and of the labor force."

The "Coordinating Council for the Activity of Transportation and Telecommunications" noted that "although, in general, the results obtained this year have been better than the results registered last year in the same period, they are not up to our existing potential," and stressed the need "to strengthen order and discipline at every place of work."

The "Coordinating Council for the Investment-Construction Activity" examined the work that has been carried out in the past 2 months and the speakers referred in general terms to some shortfalls and reportedly presented some measures to improve the overall activity.

The last council mentioned in the report is the "Coordinating Council for the Activity in Agriculture, Food Industry, Purchasing Agricultural Products, Forestry, and Water Management" which discussed "in a responsible way, the way in which the program for the modernization of production is being implemented, particularly in the field of food industry." The speakers made proposals for measures to increase the number of animals, conclude the spring sowing, and preserve the quality of water.

In conclusion, the report notes that, during the discussions within the councils, all the speakers expressed "their complete agreement with the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state and their unflinching determination to implement this policy in an exemplary way" and pledged "to mobilize their entire working and creative power in order to fulfill all the plan indicators and fully implement Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations."

Promotion of Inter-Balkan Cooperation Reviewed

AU1503190489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1811 GMT 15 Mar 89

["Romania—Consistent Promoter of Inter-Balkan Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/3/1989—The effective transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and understanding, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, without foreign military bases and troops, is a highly significant target for all the Balkan nations, for the all-European climate. Being one of the most active and persevering promoters of the attainment of such a goal, Romania has consistently militated for the development of bi- and multilateral collaboration in the Balkans, for a negotiated settlement of the problems existing among some of the countries in the region, has taken numerous actions and advanced several proposals for the consolidation of peace and good neighbourliness, for the building-up of confidence and the strengthening of collaboration among all the Balkan countries, on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for national independence

and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the observance of each nation's right to develop free, in keeping with its own will and aspirations.

The Balkan policy promoted by Romania—a country which has no disputed issue with the other states in the region and develops with them exemplary links of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation—has taken a series of valuable initiatives apt to accelerate the positive process in the area, in harmony with the vital aspirations of all nations in this part of Europe. As a matter of fact, Romania acts for a Balkan region in which the traditional relations among nations be raised to the exigencies of the time, in which any problem should be solved from constructive and innovative positions, as a specific contribution to the cause of detente, security and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

In fact, the main moments and stages of the process of affirmation and evolution of cooperation among the Balkan countries and peoples are closely linked to Romania's ideas, initiatives and demarches.

Romania's actions for the expansion of many-sided collaboration in the Balkans materialized in its growing efforts for the establishment of new-type relations of good neighbourliness and multilateral cooperation in this geographical zone. Romania has consistently worked for the normalization and powerful development of ties and collaboration with all the other Balkan countries in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other spheres of activity, for the consolidation of friendship and cooperation with them in the international arena as well. The 90 meetings or so President Nicolae Ceausescu had with heads of state or government from Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, the agreements and understandings reached on those occasions played a deciding role in boosting Romania's relations with the other Balkan states, imparting new perspectives to bilateral collaboration. Worth mentioning as concrete examples of fruitful collaboration between Romania and the Balkan countries are the waterpower stations "Iron Gates I" and "Iron Gates II," built in collaboration with Yugoslavia, the heavy equipment enterprise of Giurgiu-Ruse built in collaboration with Bulgaria, the refinery in central Anatolia achieved in cooperation with Turkey, the important cooperation ventures with Greece in various domains, and the building of an oil refinery in Albania.

Through its initiatives, positions and proposals, Romania made essential contributions to the calling and unfolding of six meetings of experts from Balkan countries in the 1976-1987 interval. Romania has shown steady concern for the development of inter-Balkan cooperation with a view to building up security and confidence, and to achieving disarmament in the region. Of special importance in the context is President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, in 1982, for the calling of a Balkan summit apt to lay the bases for a broad collaboration, security and peace in the Balkans, for the transformation of this area into a nuclear-weapon-free zone. In Romania's opinion such a conference calls for thorough preparations through successive meetings at various levels, including the foreign ministers level. In this respect, Romania's president assessed that the Balkan intergovernmental meetings of experts held in recent years had a great significance as they opened prospects for the preparation and holding of a Balkan summit.

A highly important moment in the promotion of such an initiative was the declaration and call of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, Andreas Papandreou, of July 1987 which suggests the soonest possible holding of a Balkan summit conference in Bucharest on the transformation of the Balkans into a chemical- and nuclear-free zone, the broad promotion of collaboration and cooperation in the Balkans, the building-up of confidence, security and peace in this part of Europe. The declaration and call was officially conveyed to all Balkan countries and Romania's and Greece's proposals for the calling of a Bucharest summit were approached by President Nicolae Ceausescu in his talks during the official visits to Bulgaria (October 1987), Turkey (October 1987) and Yugoslavia (November 1987).

Alongside the efforts made by the other Balkan countries, Romania's actions for the diversification and deepening of collaboration in this region, for the rise of the whole process of cooperation to a higher stage contributed to stimulating political will for dialogue. Romania welcomed the Belgrade meeting of Balkan foreign ministers and took an active part in it. In that framework stress was laid on the special importance Romania attaches to the calling of a meeting of Balkan heads of state and government, and proposed that it should be held in Bucharest as soon as possible.

The question related to the holding of a Balkan summit was also put down in the protocol adopted at the Tirana meeting of deputy foreign ministers from Balkan countries (January 1989). Emphasis was also placed on Romania's proposal for the creation of a nuclear- and chemical-free zone in the Balkans. The same meeting approved by consensus that Romania should organize a series of important actions in 1989 like a ministerial meeting on cooperation in industrial production and in the transfer of technology, a meeting of experts on confidence- and security-building measures in the Balkans, and a special meeting on the promotion of economic and commercial cooperation among Balkan countries.

Interview With GDR's Lemke on Romanian Trade

AU1303174689 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 10, 9 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with Dieter Lemke, GDR deputy minister of foreign trade, by Mihai Istratescu, in Berlin—date not given]

[Text] [Istratescu] Comrade Minister, to begin with, I would like to ask you to speak about the general framework and development of economic relations between our countries.

[Lemke] The GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania are friendly socialist countries maintaining close cooperation in numerous areas, including foreign trade. Cooperation between our countries is based on a number of long-term agreements and annual protocols and the two countries hold important places in each other's foreign trade. In the period following 1960, mutual goods exchanges increased more than 12 times. Starting in 1985, the annual volume of exchange has exceeded 1 billion rubles. In 1989, the annual protocol signed on 17 December stipulates more than 1.2 billion rubles, meaning an increase of almost 9 percent compared with the preceding year.

What is the basis of this favorable development? Both countries have a powerful and dynamic industry, so that very close and stable relations of cooperation are developing particularly in the area of machine-building, electrical engineering, and electronics. In our opinion—and we know that the Romanian comrades share this opinion—in this area there are particularly positive opportunities for production sharing and specialization and, on this basis, for developing our good exchange. Here is a significant figure in this respect: The annual protocol for 1989 stipulates that the deliveries, which will be made on the basis of contracts for production specialization, will amount to almost 40 percent of all exchanges. I am sure that the readers of your magazine know that this cooperation is developing on the basis of important documents. I want to recall primarily the long-term programs for developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation, as well as production sharing and specialization up to the year 2000. This program has been signed by the two general secretaries of our two parties, Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in May 1985. Of particular importance for developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation are also the so-called programs for branches, which were adopted in 1986 for such areas as chemistry, the heavy machine-building industry, machine-building and processing machinery, electrical engineering, and electronics, as well as for other branches.

[Istratescu] Which are the main products within our mutual trade exchange?

[Lemke] You are here at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and, of course, I want to talk especially about what we have achieved in foreign trade. The GDR's important exports to Romania, for instance, include machine-tools for your country's ball-bearing industry, equipment for open-pit coal mining, cranes, and excavators, which are employed in Romania, for instance, for the construction of the canal and subway in Bucharest, as well as textile and agricultural machinery. Similarly, the very dynamic branch of electrical engineering and electronics accounts for a great portion of exports from the GDR to Romania, including products for the construction of scientific apparatuses, telecommunications and automation equipment, and many, many other products. As a matter of fact, I would like to point to the chemical and metallurgical industry, which are characterized by a great number of mutual deliveries and exchange a broad range of products.

Romania's very important exports to the GDR include metallurgical and drilling equipment and construction machinery. Our imports from Romania also include a great number of freight cars, energy equipment, machine-tools, and subassemblies, as well as computer technology, and components for electrical engineering and electronics. No matter how succinctly one puts it, it is difficult to enumerate, in a short time, all products in the area of our mutual trade. However, permit me to say that in the area of production sharing we receive very important deliveries from the Socialist Republic of Romania, for example hydraulic loaders for agriculture and structural iron and fittings for housing and naval constructions.

Obviously nothing can be stagnant. Each country has to increase its prestige and strengthen its position in the partner country by observing delivery terms and ensuring quality products. Acting this way, we expect direct relations between industrial combines and enterprises in the GDR and Romania to develop more and more.

[Istratescu] We know that one of your main concerns at this point is the preparation of this year's International Fair in Leipzig. What is the importance of this event for the development of trade relations between our countries?

[Lemke] As a specialist in foreign trade, permit me to say that at this time we are indeed focusing our attention on the International Spring Fair in Leipzig, for which we prepare very thoroughly. I know that both sides—the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania—have proposed the same goal: To sign, within the framework of the 1989 protocol, the maximum number of contracts and to appropriately prepare for 1990.

Groza's 'Democratic' Government Anniversary

AU0603174689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1435 GMT 6 Mar 89

["Memorable Page in the Romanian People's History"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/3/1989—In an article devoted to the 44th anniversary of the instauration of the revolutionary-democratic government, "SCINTEIA" reads inter alia:

The instauration on March 6, 1945, of the revolutionary-democratic government with a deep worker-peasant character led by political man, patriot Dr Petru Groza, a crowning—through a great popular victory—of the country's new history inaugurated in August 1944, opened new and broad prospects for the deepening of the revolutionary process, laying firm foundations for its continuous development and expansion.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the months following the act of national will and dignity of August 23, 1944, the Romanian people solved great and complex tasks, answered many difficult questions, proving huge resources of revolutionary energy, of patriotism, of high responsibility for Romania's present and future. Over half a million of Romanian soldiers had engaged in the battle for liberating north-eastern Transylvania, for chasing away the fascist and Horthyst invaders from that century-old Romanian soil, for quickly liquidating the consequences of the Horthyst domination over that heavily-tried part of the country, continuing then the difficult fight for defeating fascism on Hungary's, Czechoslovakia's and Austria's territories. The Romanian economy—although impoverished by the Hitlerite war and plunder—met all the requirements and needs of the antihitlerite front. All the powers of the nation were gathered, all the energies were cumulated for healing the wounds of the war and for rebuilding the country.

For the first time in the country's contemporary history, the political power was to be used for the elaboration and implementation of a new policy, expression of the working people's supreme interests and aspirations. Thus, the instauration of the revolutionary-democratic government on March 6, 1945 represented a deep, fundamental change in the very essence of political power, in the general life of the Romanian society. In the period after March 6, 1945, the revolutionary process crossed new stages, and the winning of the entire political power by the working class and its allies was ensured, as well as the removal of the system based on social oppression and inequality, the passage to the building of the new, socialist society.

During the ample and continuously upward revolutionary process Romania passed through several historical stages, covered a long and glorious path of work, of fight, of accomplishments.

Markovic's New Government Proposal Approved

Candidates Listed

LD1503131689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG): Today at a session of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, Ante Markovic, premier-designate, proposed candidates for the new Federal Executive Council, which would consist of 19 members, including the president. Ante Markovic announced 17 members, while the 18th member, who will occupy one of the posts without portfolio, will be anounced after consultations with the republics and provinces.

The following is the list of candidates:

For the post of vice president—Aleksandar Mitrovic and Zivko Pregl;
For the post of federal secretary for foreign affairs—Budimir Loncar;
For the post of federal secretary for national defense—Veljko Kadijevic;
For the post of federal secretary for internal affairs—Petar Gracanin.

The following are proposed as the other nine federal secretaries: Branko Zekan; Franc Horvat; Nazmi Mustafa; Steven Santo; Joze Slokar; Stevo Mirjanic; Bozidar Marendic; Radisa Gacic; and Vlado Kambovski.

The following are candidates for three of the four ministerial posts without portfolio: Dzevad Mujezinovic; Branimir Pajkovic; and Nikola Basevski.

The republics and provinces proposed 85 candidates for the Federal Executive Council, of which only three were women.

More Members; Assembly Passes

LD1503163189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpts] At a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium being held in Belgrade, Premier-designate Ante Markovic has announced the names of the members of the new FEC, which the Federal Conference Presidium accepted. [passage omitted]

As federal secretary for finance, Branko Zekanovic from Croatia.
As federal secretary for foreign economic relations, Franc Horvat from Slovenia.
As federal secretary for internal trade, Nazmi Mustafa from Kosovo.
As federal secretary for energy and industry, Stevan Santo from Vojvodina.
As federal secretary for transport and communications, Joze Slokar from Slovenia.
As federal secretary for agriculture, Stevo Mirjanic from Bosnia-Hercegovina.
As federal secretary for development, Boza Marendic from Croatia.
As federal secretary for labor and labor relations, Radisa Gacic from Serbia.
As federal secretary for legal and administrative affairs, Vlado Kambovski from Macedonia. [passage omitted]

Commenting on how satisfied he is with the composition of the future FEC—with what was proposed to him by the republics and provinces—Ante Markovic answered:

[Begin Markovic recording] I think that all of us, including myself, as realistic, practical people, know that the belief that the best should be put forward as candidates is always a relative one. This belief is relative now as well. But if I were not convinced that this proposed composition of the FEC represented the essential degree of quality which, of course, remains to be tested, but that it now represented a minimum guarantee, and more than this, that we can enter the battle which awaits the FEC—which it cannot win alone, of course, but only with all of us together—from this point of view, if I were not convinced that this proposed composition were capable of taking complete responsibility, then [words indistinct]. I must say that in this composition are people who are progressively oriented, oriented toward reform, and toward Yugoslavia, because we cannot (?seek) a different solution. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Belgrade TANJUG in English on 16 March at 1150 GMT reports that on that day, both chambers of the SFRY Assembly approved and elected the vice premiers and members of the new government as proposed by Markiovic]

Markovic Urges Powerful Anti-Inflation Strategy

LD1603100989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—It is obvious that there is no single policy which can be used to strike a blow at inflation. Only a whole arsenal of policies and measures can make up a powerful strategy in the offensive against inflation. This arsenal also contains changes to the system and the economic structure; therefore, both developmental and current economic policy are included, Ante Markovic stressed in his speech today in the Yugoslav Assembly.

In view of the intensity of existing inflationary tendencies, it is vital that monetary policy operates as a powerful and active instrument of anti-inflation policy. Thus, it is necessary that its basic characteristic be restrictiveness.

From June of last year to the end of January this year, the average growth in retail prices was 15.4 percent, which taken on a yearly basis, represents an inflation rate

of 458 percent. In February, however, the growth in prices accelerated again, and now it can be said that we have an annual inflation rate approaching nearly 1,000 percent.

Presidency Calls for 'Broad Political Action'

LD1503183889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency examined the implementation of special measures introduced in the Social Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo at a session today, presided over by Raif Dizdarevic.

The SFRY Presidency insists, the announcement from the session states, that these measures be consistently and effectively implemented further. All state organs have been entrusted with special tasks and are particularly responsible for this.

At the same time, the SFRY Presidency reiterated the need to conduct the broadest political action in organizations of associated labor, local communities, and institutions in the SAP of Kosovo, which is almost entirely lacking at the moment, or is being conducted in political forums. The SFRY Presidency measures created necessary conditions for this kind of political action by all the sociopolitical organizations in the federation, Serbia, and Kosovo. For this reason, it is necessary, wherever this has not been done, to establish concrete plans for political action, with clearly defined duties and responsibilities for everyone, says the communique.

LCY Presidium Discusses Kosovo Situation

LD1503223389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2028 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—While examining the current political and security situation in Kosovo and the LCY tasks, the LCY Central Committee Presidium acquainted itself at today's session with the activities in the organizations of the Kosovo and Serbian LCs aimed at overcoming the critical situation in Kosovo. This situation has been created by the activity of Albanian separatist-nationalism, especially by the organization of the November protest gatherings and demonstrations of Albanian citizens and workers, the February miners strike, and other mass strikes in Kosovo.

The Presidium, it is reported in the communique, supported the basic assessments and stands of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium on the current political and security situation in Kosovo and the conclusions of the Serbian LC PC Presidium, as well as the activities in this connection. The Presidium drew particular attention to the importance of establishing unity in the LC and in all the organized subjective forces in Kosovo and the actions by these forces aimed at the consistent realization of the conclusions of the 9th, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee sessions. While implementing these conclusions, it is vital to establish and consolidate unity in the Kosovo LC and the LCY as a whole and in all its parts, without which there would be no final and permanent stabilization in Kosovo and in all of Yugoslavia.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium supports the efforts of the Kosovo LC aimed at breaking away from opportunism and irresponsibility in implementing the LCY policy in Kosovo, and stresses that such efforts must be resolutely continued. The establishment of unity in all the Kosovo leaderships is a precondition for these leaderships to become initiators and exponents of the broadest political activities within the working class and youth, as well as among the citizens of all nations and nationalities, which is of vital importance at present.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium reiterates the importance of adopting the amendments to the Serbian Constitution for stabilizing the situation in Kosovo, and points out that one of the most pressing tasks of the sociopolitical action of Communists in Kosovo is that the Kosovo Assembly give its approval to them as soon as possible. In connection with the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, the Kosovo LC PC Presidium proceeded from the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, adopted at the extraordinary session on 28 February this year. These stands asserted that cases of blackmail and pressures in the cadre policy cannot be accepted, and support is given to the true fighters for the realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo, which must be the basic criterion for assessing the enforced resignations in question. The Presidium notes that the Kosovo LC PC Presidium acted in keeping with these stands in connection with the resignation of Comrade Rahman Morina.

LCY Committee Addresses 'Nationality Relations'

LD1603060689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0503 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Marked differences in view of the basic cause of the current crisis in the federation were revealed during Wednesday's meeting of the LCY Central Committee's Commission for Inter-Nationality Relations—the Yugoslav party leadership's body in charge of a highly sensitive question of relations between the various nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

None of the participants denied the initial assessment contained in a report submitted by representative of Croatia Dusan Dragosavac—that "Yugoslavia is hit by the worst crisis of inter-nationality relations in its entire postwar history"—but in the ensuing debate, which from time to time became heated, speakers blamed it on republics other than their own.

The main front of charges and countercharges for the current crisis—which, it was noted, is leading towards disintegration of Yugoslavia—developed between representatives of the two largest republics, Serbia and Croatia.

Representatives of Serbia saw Dragosavacs' report—full, as Prvoslav Ralic put it, of allusions to a revival of Stalinist methods—as an "attempt to bring up for discussion the Serbian people and its leadership" and to ascribe to them the conduct characteristic of the so-called "Maspok" (mass movement), known from 1971 as a euphoria of Croatian nationalism.

Views differed also on the scope and contents of the special measures in Kosovo Province, where the Yugoslav Peoples' Army is safeguarding a new attempt to push back the counter-revolution and Albanian separatism.

Some speakers said they were "made nervous by applause to the special measures." Although the recent strike of ethnic Albanian miners by self-confinement to the mine pits was officially assessed as part of a blackmailing political scenario, Najiz Durakovic stuck to his view that the "miners have the right to make political demands."

The polemical debate overshadowed some of the vital assessments, as for instance that the "1974 Constitution has given precedence to the national over the class," thus practically leading to a confederalization of the state and the leading party.

Ivan Cvitkovic called attention to what he assessed as two important characteristics of the situation—that national particularities and the insistence on them are becoming the cause of Yugoslavia's destabilization, and that individual sections of the League of Communists, while seeking allies in defence of regional interests, "are bringing religion under their shirt." He warned the ardent polemicists that "relations between the Socialist Republics of Serbia and Croatia are of vital importance to the country."

U.S. Debt Reduction Plan Cautiously Welcomed

AU1503161589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 89 p 7

[Bogdan Decermic report: "Responsibility Accepted"]

[Text] New York, 13 Mar—"The Baker plan prescribed even greater borrowing, and things became worse. The proposal that debts should be initially reduced is already a step forward." This brief summary, or even simplification, of a change in the official U.S. stand on the developing countries' debts was made by Norman Bailey, expert in this field and former member of the Reagan administration.

Instead of encouraging debtor countries to use new loans to stimulate the reconstruction of their economies and growth—which was the basis of the Reagan administration's policy toward debtor countries, and which was formulated by James Baker, who was treasury secretary at that time—the Bush administration announced a turnaround last week. The new treasury secretary, Nicholas Brady, said that the United States and other Western creditor countries must help debtor countries by first reducing their debts and interest rates, and then granting them further loans for the development of their economies.

Debtors' "Thin" Resources

Speaking at the Brooklyn Institute [as published], Treasury Secretary Brady stated that the new administration has decided to look into the problem of world debts, taking into account the views of debtor countries, multilateral organizations, commercial banks, and other creditor countries, especially Japan.

The conclusion reached is that, "despite some success," the policy that has been practiced has not at the end produced positive results. "In many major debtor countries, growth is not satisfactory, nor is the extent of economic reforms. The outflow of capital has exhausted the debtor countries' resources. At the same time, they were not in the position to increase investments or savings. In many cases, inflation is beyond control...."

Loans from commercial banks, Brady continued, did not always come in time. Finally, about 2-3 years ago, commercial banks started to reduce their lending, while the lending by multinational organizations, the World Bank and the IMF increased. If this trend is to continue, the problem of debts would fall on these two international organizations and would weaken their financial position.

The new plan will perhaps be called the Brady plan. Only the main principles of the plan were presented; many details have not been worked out yet, and there are many unknowns. What is important is that the plan proposes a policy of reducing the size of the main debt and that the creditors ought to be given guarantees that the debts will be repaid, of course, the reduced debts. The guarantors would be the World Bank and the IMF.

According to some officials in the creditor banks, their institutions would be glad to reduce debts of some countries. This primarily refers to some Latin American countries, where debts would be reduced by as much as 30 percent in return for a guarantee. For instance, a bank would consider reducing a loan from $100 million to $65 million. The bank would invest the reduced amount of money in the economy of the debtor country, in the shares of its own or mixed companies, and local businesses. [sentenced as published] However, in order to do this, the banks want outside guarantees because they are

afraid of the nationalization of enterprises, restrictions on divided transfers, etc. The World Bank, the IMF, and other institutions should be guarantors.

Japan in Lead Role

In Brady's approach Japan would play an important role with its great financial potential. Last year, the Americans categorically rejected Japan's offer to participate in the so-called "parallel lending" with the IMF through the Export-Import Bank of Japan. With a change in the U.S. stand, Japan is beginning to play an increasingly important role in solving developing countries' debt problems.

There is no doubt that in the new U.S. plan, the World Bank and the IMF, the two institutions which are said to have been out harmony, will play an increasingly important role as guarantors and creditors in the new mechanism. The World Bank relies on the financial resources of some $150 billion while the IMF on $50 billion. According to Brady, the funds of the IMF should be increased by approximately 50 percent. Japan is expected to contribute the most. Brady has also announced an increase in the U.S. contribution, something the Reagan administration did not want to hear about.

Asked to comment on a change in the U.S. stand on the developing countries' debt and the significance of the plan, Zivorad Kovacevic, Yugoslav ambassador to the United States, said that the plan in fact means two things: First, the admission of the fact that the former strategy on debts has not produced results, and second, the acceptance of the need to reduce the debt as a condition for restructuring economies.

The strategy used up to now has produce a large outflow of net capital from debtors' countries—about $30 billion per year—which threatens their development. Moreover, the new approach is an admission that the problem of debt is not only the problem of debtor countries, and that they are not the only ones to blame or the only ones responsible for the creation of debts, but that this is also a problem of the entire developed world. This is why the developed world is obliged to work on this problem together with the developing countries.

Yugoslavia's Place

It has become obvious that the debtor countries do not have a chance of overcoming stagnation and deep debt crisis through the present system. It has been demonstrated that the policy of tightening the belt and "everything will be okay" does not work. The balances of payments have, however, been harmonized, and the debtor countries are exporting, but they are also lagging behind in development and have high inflation. Domestic net capital is flowing abroad. It is being transferred in two ways: first, through the repayment of debts, and second, it is simply running away from the countries whose economies do not enjoy confidence.

To what extent and how will the new U.S. approach affect Yugoslavia's repayment of debts? Latin America, Ambassador Kovacevic said, is certainly in the first plan. After all, the announced change in the stand on debts was directly motivated by political reasons—Washington's anxiety about unrest in some Latin American countries caused by the grave political situation. To be more precise, by unrest in Venezuela. However, all the countries mentioned in the Baker plan, including Yugoslavia, can expect to be among the countries which should feel a change in the stand of the world's largest creditor country, the stand according to which debts should be reduced. However, one should still expect—without any doubt—that strict conditions will continue to be present.

Major banks oppose, Kovacevic said, all obligatory plans on debt reduction. They favor the so-called voluntary plans, such as the conversion of debt, the repurchase of debt, or investments. In essence, this is of lesser significance, as demonstrated by the case of Brazil, where inflation continues to rage. Now that a reduction in debts has been proposed, banks are not willing to do it because that requires funds; banks are expecting certain stimuli from the World Bank and the IMF. However, the major creditor countries, including the United States, should also change their attitudes toward banks in order to stimulate them.

In fact, the banks have filled up their safes, have cleared all balances, and have provided sufficient funds for their reserve account.

After all, some big U.S. banks have never been better off: In the last quarter of 1988 they recorded the highest profits ever.

In conclusion, Kovacevic expressed certain cautiousness because, as he said, one should try to evaluate the real scope of this proposal. There have been many plans in the past, and one should still expect problems to be solved, not globally, but on a "case-by-case" basis.

SFRY, Taiwan Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD1603095389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2113 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the China External Trade Development Council of Taiwan and the chamber of the economy of Yugoslavia signed an agreement on mutual cooperation this evening which, among other things, obliges each side to check out possibilities for opening trade offices in Yugoslavia and Taiwan. The Yugoslav side will try to organize a seminar on Yugoslav economy in Taiwan by the end of the year, while the Taiwanese council will organize the anticipation of Taiwanese businessmen at the Zagreb autumn fair. This should primarily contribute to the expansion of direct economic ties, which did not exist until recently.

The twenty-member economic delegation of Taiwan, which includes the leading figures on about twelve firms, was headed by secretary-general of the council Augustin Tingtsu Liu. The first visit by a Taiwanese economic delegation to Yugoslavia ended today after three days in addition to talks with a delegation of the Yugoslav chamber of the economy, which was headed by Vice-President Milos Vlaisavljevic, the Taiwanese businessmen also visited several Belgrade firms and met with representatives of major organizations from the whole country.

The Taiwanese delegation visited, among other firms, Jugometal, Ivo Lola Ribar, Alls Belgrade, Emona of Ljubljana, Astra of Zagreb, and Eximkos of Pristina. The Taiwanese businessmen represented firms engaged in air transport, the textile industry, electric industry, trade.

Yugoslavia and Taiwan do not have diplomatic relations, but Belgrade last year lifted a ban on economic cooperation with Taiwan, so that the two countries' firms exchanged about four million dollars worth of goods in direct business deals. It is known, however, that ten million dollars' worth of Taiwanese goods came to the Yugoslav market, while 20 million dollars' worth of Yugoslav goods went to Taiwan also through "third" countries.

Stari Trg Miners Conduct 'Silent' Strike

Up to 300 on Strike

LD1503151489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The Stari Trg miners are still not entering the pits. Two or three hundred of them are sitting in the workers' cafeteria and keeping silent. They alone know how long this will last, or to put it better, those who are again making puppets of the miners know. The skillfully formulated political demands made in February have been replaced by silence in March. The tactics have obviously changed, but the goal has remained the same—the further destabilization, both political and economic, of the province and of the country as a whole.

It is clear why the miners are not going down into the pits. The normalization of production in the mines is the basis for the beginning of the stabilization of the overall situation in Kosovo. The miners are sitting and keeping silent. They are maintaining the tension. They are being joined from time to time by workers of Albanian nationality in Urosevac, Gnjilane, and Prizren, who are causing brief work stoppages which, for the moment, are only sporadic.

The silence of the miners, apart from maintaining the tension, has a further, no less dangerous dimension. This is the begining of the division of the working class on a national basis. In contrast to this, there is the calculated thesis that all workers of Albanian nationality are nationalists and separatists.

Over the past few days, others have also been keeping silent in Kosovo. The pupils in three secondary school centers in Prizren have boycotted tuition by their silence. Two sections in the first class began this, and in the last few hours, have been followed by about 50 sections. The pupils with whom the teachers talked to try and prevent this boycott said that their concentraiton is being impaired by the tanks and aircraft flying overhead.

A large number of educational, scientific, and cultural workers, especially university lecturers, are keeping silent. Many of them have been silent, it was assessed recently, since 1981. However, they always make their voices heard when there is a need to oppose LC policy.

Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, speaking to the Pristina political aktiv, pointed out another kind of silence. He spoke about the silence in the wake of the November events. Besides the resistance to LCY policy, in his assessment, the silence in the wake of the November events demonstrates that political work in most environments has been forum-style work. The February events brought out into the open many weaknesses and failings as well as mistaken political work with people in basic organizations. There should be no such silence this time.

Reinforcement of Militia

AU1503192989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Excerpt] The new form of protest by workers and school children of Albanian nationality continues in Kosovo. Production in mines is again beginning to fall, and most of them have not even been working since February. Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Mihajlovic] The Trepca mine in Stari Trg is again at the focus of attention of the public. About 250 miners have not left the workers restaurant for 3 days. They are rejecting an appeal from the management to return to work and they will not even go home. This was confirmed today at a press conference by the newly elected leader of the temporary mine administration, Cazim Sajlija, who said that the miners are regularly accepting food and are responsibly listening to the explanations of Trepca, Titova Mitrovica, and provincial leaders.

The miners' demands are the same as in February, although they are now asking that the former president of the Trepca management committee, Aziz Abrasi, and the mine's director, Burhan Kavaja, be released from prison.

The miners have still not been issued with compulsory work orders because, as Sajlija said, the implementation of measures which are believed to be impossible to carry through is not right for the system, the people, or the state.

The mine received a permit to work from the provincial work inspectors yesterday, but more permits are needed for production to be continued.

Journalists have not been informed about the mood of the other 2,900 miners in Stari Trg.

Otherwise, it has been noticed today that there are considerably more militia forces in front and around the mine than in previous days. All approaches to Stari Trg are blocked, and militia patrols are only allowing entry to the inhabitants of this settlement. [passage omitted]

Production Near 'Standstill'

LD1503220789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2019 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 15 (TANJUG)—Miners have not yet returned to the majority of mine pits in Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province.

Production in Kosovo mines is almost at a standstill owing to a "silent strike" of ethnic Albanian miners, who are boycotting work or failing to show up without offering any justification.

Miners of the Stari Trg lead and zinc mine, whose underground strike late in February triggered off a series of work stoppages and led to special measures imposed in the province on February 27, are still sitting in silence at the mine's cafeteria. Two hundred fifty of them are refusing to leave the restaurant, putting forward demands identical to those voiced late last month. Besides the giving up of changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, which includes the autonomous province of Kosovo, they now also demand the release from detention of two former leading managers of the mine, Aziz Abashi and Burhan Kavaja.

Abashi and Kavaja were detained early in March on justified suspicion of having been among the initiators of the February strike.

The Stari Trg miners ended their underground sit-in on February 28, but did not show up for work in anticipation of a technical checkup of the mine. Today it was stated that the pit was given a work clearance but that "all security and other requirements enabling the resumption of work have not yet been fulfilled."

The Goles magnesite mine is out of operation since March 9, while more than half the number of ethnic Albanian miners at the Kisnica and Nomo Brdo mines do not report for work without justification.

Today ethnic Albanian workers in a number of enterprises in all parts of the province laid down tools from time to time in silent solidarity with the Stari Trg miners.

About 50 Serb and Montenegrin workers today stopped work at a factory at Gnjilane, saying they would not resume work until the list of organizers of last month's events was published.

The miners refusing to work will be given compulsory work orders to return to work. The orders, provided under the Yugoslav Law on General People's Defence, can be applied in emergency situations.

Stari Trg Occupation Ends

LD1603093789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0733 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—This morning about 200 Stari Trg miners ended their 3-day occupation of the workers' cafeteria. This was done after lengthy talks and assurances from Trepca's managers and municipal and provincial activists, as well as warnings from the competent organs.

The workers were taken to their homes in buses. The miners had occupied the cafeteria since 13 March. By persistently remaining silent, they drew people's attention to their February demands.

Kosovo LC Stances on Political Situation

LD1503100589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo continues to be very difficult. Enemy activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism has been intensified and national division has assumed widespread proportions and is threatening to further exacerbate the situation in individual environments. Insufficient resolve in a number of organizations to persist fully and resolutely with the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] platform, to bring about differentiation on this platform, and to seek the establishment of responsibility, plays primarily into the hands of the nationalists and all those who have no interest in the more rapid stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. This is stressed in the assessments and stands on the current political-security situation in the SAP of Kosovo, which has been set out by the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee Presidium.

There is general concern among working people and citizens, it states further, over the situation in specific environments and fear and uncertainty about the prospects of life together in Kosovo.

Resolute action by the LC and other progressive forces to smash these kinds of resistance is still insufficient. The determination of the political leadership of Kosovo to

persist to the end with LCY policy and to finally settle accounts with all nationalist and separatist forces, with the forces of resistance, pseudo-leadership and careerism, and with all those who see in the changes the loss of their positions and who tie this to the loss of the acquired rights of the Albanian nationality, is not meeting in all environments with equal, comprehensive, and sincere support.

The most recent events in the SAP of Kosovo in February this year, when the miners at the Stari Trg mine were again the first to stop work and refuse to emerge from the pits, confirm the attempt to implement goals which run counter to LCY policy and to the SFRY itself.

It is stated that the February events in the province had two phases: the phase of protest meetings and work stoppages by workers of Albanian nationality between 3 and 11 February, in which 86 meetings were held in 78 work organizations involving 20,000 workers, and the phase of the miners' strike in Stari Trg between 20 and 28 February. In this period, 214 work organizations and over 70 primary and secondary schools stopped work. During the whole of the strike there were over 5,000 students gathered in the "25 May" sports hall. Most shops were also closed.

In this way the difficult and complex security situation in Kosovo which has now continued for a long time, was made even worse and took on proportions which could threaten public order and peace, the constitutional set-up, and the integrity of the SFRY. The SFRY Presidency therefore took appropriate measures to prevent more serious consequences.

The introduction of special measures in Kosovo was accepted with relief by all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, but also with the demand that all organs and all sociopolitical organizations take measures within their competence to ensure complete peace and safety for all citizens throughout the province.

The immediate reason for the events in February this year were the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia. At the 17th LCY Central Committee session, as is well known, full support was given to the changes to the Constitution of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia. This support implied a direct threat to the implementation of the counterrevolutionary goal of "Kosovo - a republic," by virtue of the fact that the province, in the full sense of the word, becomes a constitutent part of the SR of Serbia. Individuals and groups who acted from bureaucratic and statist positions, and who were later joined by the forces of Albanian nationalism and separatism, organized protests and demonstrations, attempting in this way to impede the changes to the republican constitution and to keep the situation unchanged. There was a serious deterioration in the political-security situation in Kosovo and a significant homogenization of the Albanian nationality on the platform of resistance to the constitutional changes.

Opposition to the constitutional changes was caused not only by the insufficient dissemination of information and by mistaken information, but also by the unsatisfactory and erroneous political work of the leadership in Kosovo, and above all by the manipulation brought about by Albanian nationalists and separatists to the effect that the interests of Albanians were under threat, autonomy and that the Albanian language would be abolished and national identity eradicated.

Despite this serious exacerbation of intranational relations, and almost complete national division in connection with the constitutional changes and responsibility for the failure to implement LCY policy on Kosovo demanded at the 17th session, the provincial leadership vacillated for a very long time before adopting an assessment of the November demonstrations and of their organizers and inspirers. The consequence of this was the further deterioration in the already serious political-security situation in Kosovo.

As long ago as November, it was obvious that there was a desire to protect the organizers and inspirers of the November demonstrations and to attempt to have everything classified as spontaneous gatherings. Hence, such powerful and vehement resistance to ideopolitical differentiation, the establishment of individual responsibility, and cadre renewal in the Presidium and in the LC Provincial Committee, which was particularly pronounced in the first half of February 1989. After the cadre renewal in these forums, more decisive steps were taken to implement the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Assessing the November gatherings and the demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality, the renewed leadership demonstrated its firm resolve to implement LCY policy and create a common front of struggle of all progressive forces in Kosovo.

As the time for giving consent to the amendments to the Serbian constitution is approaching, individuals and groups which acted from bureaucratic and statist positions, realizing that they are losing support in part of the provincial leaderhip, are opting for the radicalization of the method of action, manipulating part of the Albanian population, youth and students, even part of the working class. These forces see an opportunity for the successful outcome of this unscrupulous action in the lack of unity within the Yugoslav political leadership with regard to solving problems in Kosovo. While planning the general strike in February its organizers counted upon overthrowing the renewed Kosovo leadership—considering such a balance of forces in Yugoslavia—and upon protecting themselves and preserving the continuinity of the improper political activity whose ultimate goal was to preserve the present difficult situation.

The political strike of the Trepca miners and the work stoppages by Albanian workers in other collectives in

Kosovo are a sequal to the protest gatherings and demonstrations of Albanian citizens from 17 to 21 November 1988 and are a component part of the implementation of a plot specially designed to block two basic tasks: the realization of the constitutional changes in Serbia and the realization of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

As far as the Albanian nationalists and separatists and their aims are concerned, the February strikes and the November demonstrations and meetings are ultimately the sequel to the counterrevolution of 1981.

The basic aims are contained in the following: that Serbia shall not exercise certain functions over the entire territory and that the province retain certain attributes of statehood—to prevent the consistent ideopolitical differentiation and the establishing of responsibility for part of Albanian cadres—that opportunist attitudes remain in the struggle against Albanian separatism and greater Albanian hegemony, and that the status quo is preserved, which suited the aims of the Albanian nationalists and separatists.

One of the strong indicators of the organic link between the mass gatherings and demonstrations in November 1988 and the political strikes in February 1989 are the slogans and demands. In November, slogans were voiced in support of the constitution of 1974 and demands were made that certain leaders should remain. In February, demands were put forward not to change the constitution of 1974 and that the new leadership, elected in the period between these two events, tender its resignation. The only difference is that different tactics were used in February compared to November: The street was replaced by the premises of work collectives and places of work.

These other tactics had an additional dimension: the psychological effect which its epicenter—the Stari Trg underground strike—was supposed to have. Everything else was subjeced to this central event, the plans for which envisaged the creation of a powerful emotional charge which was supposed to divert the attention of the public toward the humane aspect of the situation and ensure that the miners obtain support which would spontaneously lead to support for their political demands.

Such effects were achieved by the 3d day when initial support began to be shown in other parts of the country and when an atmosphere of support for the miners and for their demands was created among the Albanian population in Kosovo. This undoubtedly indicates that there was large-scale organization, because the action of support for the miners' demands, under the slogan of humaneness, also involved some political institutions, a number of municipal committees and their presidiums, veterans and youth organizations, some organizations of the trade union federation, public associations, and others.

Eventual vacancies were filled by individuals, and thus a real front of action and awareness was created which was being inflamed and urged on by strong activities of certain Kosovo Albanian-language public information media, and supplemented for the Yugoslav public by certain articles in the press and on radio and television programs in Slovenia and Croatia.

By risking the lives of the miners as part of an unprecedented political camouflage, the organizers of the February strike had as their aim enforcing the solidarity of the Yugoslav working class and convincing the humane public of the just cause of their struggle. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium assesses the February events as the continuation of the crude abuse of Albanian miners and workers directed at the destruction of the political course of the LCY, which would prevent the continuation of the opportunistic line in the LC and in the political life of the province which only postpones the problems instead of solving them.

The causes of such a course of events are found, above all, in the opportunistic, bureaucratic alliance of some political and economic factors. Hesitation and conscious delay by the provincial political leadership in adopting a clear stand on the November events, despite the clearly formulated line of the LC, encouraged Albanian nationalists and placed the LC and the institutions of the political system in the defensive position of being factors that only act verbally.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium believes that the allegedly neutral support, purely on humanitarian grounds, for the miners that came from Slovenia and also support for some of the political demands made by the miners coming from some responsible officials at certain rallies were, in their substance and consequences, a serious blow to the struggle waged by communists and socialist forces in Kosovo against Albanian nationalism and separatism. Such an attitude is an indication of the failure to understand the reality of the Kosovo situation and the nature of the struggle against not just Albanian but any other type of nationalism.

This is hampering the implementation of the LCY policy in Kosovo, devaluing its importance and the sense of urgency, and delaying and slowing down efforts to create a climate of safety, trust, and coexistence in which dignified people who both historically and traditionally depend on one another, will live. The LC considers as unacceptable the kind of political support aimed at presenting concern for national interests of Albanian as being greater than the concern demonstrated by the Communists of Albanian nationality or even the Kosovo LC itself which, after all, bears most responsibility for ensuring that these interests are correctly interpreted and for fighting for them in the same way it fights for the interests of all the people and nations living in Kosovo.

It is the view of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium that if the Communists and Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others living in Kosovo cannot resolve the problems of the province in line with the LCY policy and with help from the LCY, then surely the forces that offered help from the platform at the Cankarjev Dom will not be able to do it either.

The general strike in February as well as the events of last November have had catastrophic consequences for the political-security situation in the country and especially in Kosovo. Kosovo's economy and that of those parts of the country which have direct economic links with Kosovo have suffered enormous material damage. These effects are all the more serious in view of the fact that Kosovo is the least-developed part of the country.

The most serious consequences are in evidence in the sphere of intranational relations. During the February events, national divisions became even deeper and the Serbs and Montenegrins became more convinced than ever before that collective exodus was the only solution to their living problems and to the problem of their personal security. This was demonstrated by the widespread returning of party membership cards, by resignations, as well as by the protest of Serbian, Montenegrin, and Muslim miners in the Kopaonik mines in Leposavic.

The events of February exposed a collusion between bureucratic-nationalist forces which, up to February, operated covertly and helped to take measures of political and other responsibility against those who took part in these operations. This provided an opportunity to carry out differentation in the Kosovo LC between those who assisted the counterrevolution abundantly and those who opposed it resolutely.

These are precisely the criteria which the Kosovo LC must take into account when carrying out clear ideopolitical differentiation in its own ranks. The Kosovo LC will assess its own political responsibility for the political mistakes committed, which led to the February events in Kosovo. It is now clear that these events would not have taken place had the conclusions of the 9th and the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee been consistently implemented.

A section of the public information media made a significant contribution to the way the public was informed about the course of events, about the work stoppages by the miners and in work organizations throughout Kosovo. However, as a result of differences in the approach to these events and to reporting about them by some parts of the information media in the province and outside it, some sections of the media, particularly those in the Albanian language, occasionally provided scope for various manipulations and further divisions on a national basis.

Some papers in Albanian, for instance 'RILINJDA' and 'BOTA E RE', the newspaper of Prisitina University, as well as television and radio in Pristina, in particular, and their programs in Albanian, played a special role in creating a climate which did nothing to contribute to the efforts by the Kosovo LC leadership to normalize and stabilize the situation in Kosovo.

Blow-by-blow reports from the spot in many of the programs on Prisitina radio and television treated the whole event as a tragedy of the Albanian nationality thus pouring even more oil on the flames. For instance, 'BOTA E RE' heralded the events even before February and continued to maintian the same approach to them once they ended. Some other public media sections, outside Kosovo, threw confusion among the Yugoslav public about the real character and course of events in Kosovo from the way they reported the February events. In this way the public began to doubt the readiness and ability of society as a whole and of the Kosovo LC to overcome the problems stemming from the events.

The organizers and instigators of the February events relied on the presence of a great number of both domestic and foreign journalists in Kosovo and used press conferences, statements, and other forms of information to exert real propaganda pressure by their dramatic messages of nationalist content. While some of the journalists—and this depended on which part of the country they came from—were not allowed access to the places where it all happened, others had no difficulty in moving freely and finding people ready to talk to them.

To some extent the February events were influenced by the subversive propaganda activity on the part of hostile Albanian emigres. They were very active both during and after the events. They were in collusion with the Albanian nationalists in Kosovo. And in their desire to internationalize the issue of the status of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, because of the alleged threat to its existence and inequality, they were very active in other countries and in international organizations.

Demands made in the Stari Trg mine had a political nature and were aimed at further hampering and coutnering the LC's action in Kosovo and the necessary changes in the province, in the SR of Serbia, and in the country as a whole. Initially formulated in eight points, these demands were later expanded with several more, including the one to inform the United Nations of their views. This was an attempt to internationalize the whole event, although it was quite clear that neither pressures nor blackmail would contribute to the implementation of democratic principles and democratic decisionmaking.

It later emerged that the demands put forward by the miners were, in fact, demands of the instigators and organizers of the protest and that they were in contrast with the interests of Kosovo's working class and, by implication, of the workers and miners of Albanian

nationality. This time the most difficult, and at the same time, most inhumane method had been chosen. All menas available were used and it did not matter who the victims were. In this case the miners, as a symbol of the working class, were chosen as victims.

It is obvious that the organizers' main objective was general paralysis of the economic and social life in the province as a special form of pressure on the leadership to force it to accept the political demands and abandon its determination to preserve along the course of the LC's policy on Kosovo and to jeopardize the execution of the tasks set by the LCY, the Serbian LC, and the Kosovo LC designed to stabilize the situation in the province.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium has examined all the facts and circumstances which forced Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija to resign. In the Presidium's view, in light of their ideopolitical activity and work so far, there is no grounds for their resignations since they have proved themselves to be champions of the LCY's policy.

Having stated that Rahman Morina's activity was in line with the stands and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee concerning Kosovo and the stabilization of the situation in the province, the brotherhood, unity and togetherness, and equality of all nations and nationalities, the Presidium unanimously agreed that Rahman Morina should remain president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

On the basis of the assessments of the events and the topical political-security situation in the province, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium has drawn a number of conclusions. Efficient, consistent, and urgent implementation of the stands on Kosovo is set as the priority task. The Communists have the duty to examine their activity critically and to assume an unambiguous attitude toward the stands of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and to fight for their implementation in all environments. Special emphasis is placed on the need to embark immediately on differentiation and to establish responsibilities. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium is resolute in its view that all those who opposed the execution of the party tasks and who today are treating them in any opportunist and irresponsible manner should leave the LC.

Kosovo Presidencies Note Silent Sit-Ins

LD1503033189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2236 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 14 (TANJUG)—The provincial and party Presidencies of Kosovo on Tuesday upheld the amendments to the Constitution of Serbia enabling the republic to perform necessary functions on its entire territory, including the Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

The two Presidencies noted that these changes observe the essence of the constitutional position of the two autonomous provinces and do not alter the fundamental principles of the 1974 Constitution guaranteeing complete equality to all nations and nationalities in Serbia and Kosovo.

As stated today, Yugoslav security organs have uncovered plans of Albanian nationalists and separatists to organize street demonstrations of women and children in Pristina later this month. The timing of the demonstrations is seen as linked with a provincial assembly session, convened for March 24 to adopt the changes in Serbia's Constitution.

The situation in Kosovo today was marked, on the one hand, with a normalization of production in most enterprises and, on the other, with ethnic Albanian workers failing to show up for work or demonstrating a new form of protest—silent sit-ins.

About 130 ethnic Albanian miners of the Stari Trg lead and zinc mine are sitting in its workers' restaurant since yesterday evening, voicing no demands but silently expressing their political stand known to them only.

Late in February the miners staged an eight-day strike in pits of the mine, while last November they spearheaded the demonstrations by members of the Albanian nationality throughout Kosovo. Now, they have chosen silence.

The Stari Trg mine has been without miners for the past 22 days. Last Friday it was given permission to resume operation following a technical checkup after the miners eight-day strike ended on February 28.

Work orders for miners at the Stari Trg mine were officially stated to be filled in today.

The measure, aimed at ensuring a stabilization of production and political situation in the mine, was taken in accordance with the Yugoslav law on general peoples defence, which provides for the possibility of introducing work orders "in wartime and in case of an imminent threat of war," or in emergency conditions in peacetime.

Work orders have been introduced lately in a number of Kosovo enterprises of special social and strategic interest. This is the first time that the measure has been applied since the law on general peoples defence was enacted in 1982, and failure to observe it entails punishment under the law.

Notwithstanding the work orders, about 130 miners showed up at the Goles magnesite mine but refused to go down into the pits.

They are understood to have demanded the release of former Kosovo party leader Azem Vlasi and two businessmen, detained and held for questioning on suspicion of having organized the protests and strikes in Kosovo last November and February.

Over 200 ethnic Albanian miners also failed to show up for work at three other mines in Kosovo.

In several places in Kosovo ethnic Albanian workers laid down tools in solidarity with the miners.

About 600 ethnic Albanian students today staged a silent sit-in in a secondary school in Prizren.

Total damage to the economy from last month's strikes and current boycott is difficult to estimate. A fire which broke out on electric installations at a zinc mill in Titova Mitrovica on Monday caused an estimated damage of one billion dinars.

The mill is now working at half its normal capacity. An investigation into the causes of the fire is under way.

The Pristina municipality today decided to impose special measures suspending self-management at the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines, where ethnic Albanian miners are also refusing to go down into the pits.

The measures, normally applied in enterprises with holdups in production, were imposed by the municipal authorities of Titova Mitrovica in the Stari Trg mine which is situated on its territory.

The authorities in Kosovo's capital of Pristina today appealed to all workers to contribute towards a faster stabilization of conditions in the province by fulfilling their work tasks. At the same time they upheld the special measures which the Yugoslav state Presidency imposed in Kosovo on February 28 to protect the order in this part of the country.

The Pristina leadership noted a slow implementation of the Yugoslav programme of stopping the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Nearly 500 persons of these two nationalities moved out of Pristina last year, and 90 persons in the first two months of this year.

More than 50,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have left Kosovo under pressure from Albanian separatists and nationalists since 1981.

Hajredin Bujupi, chief of the Pristina security center, said today that the enemy was now changing tactics and using new methods of special war in order to block the constitutional changes in Serbia.

Initiative on Kosovo Labor Proposed

LD0903145889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Serbian Executive Council, the legislative-legal commisson of the Serbian Assembly approved an initiative for passing a special law which would regulate the dispatching to and employment of workers in Kosovo. In the explanation of the initiative, it is stressed that 353 experts for higher economic issues are needed in this province at the moment, as well as 157 teachers for higher education institutions and universities, 14 judges, and 25 administrative workers. [passage omitted]

Trade Union Group To Discuss Kosovo Situation

LD0903190689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Unless there is urgent work and ideopolitical differentiation in Kosovo, one can expect a repetition of events like those of last November and February of this year, but they are likely to be much more vehement, Dusan Kocoljevac, member of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council—who recently spent several days in Kosovo as a member of a working group of the Presidium and Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation (SSJ)—said in a statement to TANJUG. The situation in work collectives of Kosovo, he stressed, is gradually getting back to normal, except for the Trepca mine in Stari Trg. [passage omitted]

Dusan Kocoljevac, member of the Presidium of the SSJ Council, stressed the irreplaceable role of the trade unions in resolving the Kosovo problem, especially because the trade union is the exponent of constitutional changes. The overcoming of existing problems and the mobilization of all forces for the consolidation of production and the development of a different attitude toward work will not be possible without the commitment of the entire working class of Kosovo, he said. Because of constrasting views manifested by republican trade union organizations with regard to the situation in Kosovo and the influence of the organization on the normalization of the situation, a session of the SSJ Council has been convened for 15 March, with only one item on the agenda: the tasks of the SSJ to overcome the unfavorable situation in Kosovo and further afield in the country.

Serbian Paper Criticizes Milosevic Idolatry

LD1503181789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Skopje, March 15 (TANJUG)—Slogans, graffiti and songs devoted to Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic are being increasingly found and heard in the Republic of Macedonia too, NOVA MAKEDONIJA, a daily issued in this republic, warns on Wednesday.

Noting that someone certainly needs these attempts to create idols and leaders, the paper says that they only devalue the work and efforts by personalities, who, by the nature of their function, are in the focus of public interest.

Adding that the Macedonians do not need "encouragement" in the struggle against Albanian separatism (as the republic, whose population also includes ethnic Albanians, already wages such a struggle on its territory) or in supporting the proposed changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (which have already won principled and public support in Macedonia), NOVA MAKEDONIJA recalls that Milosevic himself has on one occasion pleaded in public that his name should not be used unnecessarily.

Ljubljana SAWP Says 'No Meeting in Ljubljana'

AU1603113089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] The leaderships of the Socialist Alliance [SAWP] of Ljubljana has sent a letter to workers of Titograd, to the members of the Novi Sad Democratic Initiative, and to citizens of the Socialist Republic of Serbia who have announced their intention to come to the Slovene capital on 25 March. It informs them that there will be no meeting in Ljubljana.

The explanation also says that such a gathering in Ljubljana would be considered a challenge, a provocation, and the instigation of a split among the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Asked what will happen if people come to Ljubljana despite this stance by the city SAWP leadership, the spokesmen of the Ljubljana SAWP said to our correspondent: The sociopolitical organization has had its say; all the rest is a matter for others who are charged to ensure order in the country.

Jewish Association Files Charges in Ljubljana

AU0903184689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 89 p 1

[S.S. report: "Criminal Charges Filed at Public Prosecutor's in Ljubljana"]

[Text] As we have discovered, the Yugoslav Jewish Communities Federation has filed charges with the Ljubljana District Public Prosecutor and the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Ljubljana because of the recent unprecedented abuse of the Jewish national and religious symbol at the meeting in the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana.

The explanation states, among other things, that the feelings of the members of this people were deeply hurt by the desecration of the Star of David, which was the symbol of the suffering of the Jews at the time of Nazism.

"We are proposing that criminal proceedings be initiated against the people and creators responsible for the badge 'Kosovo—my land' and are asking that its continued manufacture and distribution be banned," states the report filed with the Ljubljana District Public Prosecutor.

Slovenian Human Rights Council Issues Statement

LD0903223389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2016 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, March 9 (TANJUG)—The Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms within the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most developed republic, today joined the appeal of the Yugoslav Human Rights Forum that all social factors in the country should take all measures for human rights in the nationalism-stricken province of Kosovo to be respected while special measures are effective there.

The council also joined the warnings of the Society for Slovenia's Constitutional Law that, under the Yugoslav Constitution, it is not possible to introduce measures which temporarily limit the constitutional rights and freedoms except in war or imminent danger of war.

The Slovenian Human Rights Council maintains that the changes to the Kosovo Constitution cannot be adopted while special measures are in effect.

The council maintains that Yugoslavia, as a signatory of the international convention on civil and political rights, is obliged to "inform other countries-signatories of the act through U.N. secretary-general about what rights and freedoms specified in the convention it has limited by the measures, about the reasons for the introduction of the measures and about their contents and nature. [no closing quotation marks as received]

The council maintains that the state and political organs' dual criteria regarding the permission of public gatherings, i.e., meetings, of members of various nations and nationalities, are unacceptable.

The practice of the supreme state bodies to call the bodies in charge of criminal repression to institute criminal proceedings, while beforehand qualifying the acts whose criminal responsibility can be established through legal criminal procedures alone, is also unacceptable and contrary to the principles of a legal state.

Such practice, the council maintains, seriously endangers the constitutionally-guaranteed autonomy of courts.

The Slovenian Council for the Protection of Human Rights warned of the great danger of implementing criminal law to resolve national and political conflicts and recalled the tragic experiences of political processes in Yugoslavia and the world.

Slovene Party Publishes Short Renewal Program

AU1103180389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Ninety thousand copies of a short version of the Program of Renewal of the League of Communists of Slovenia [LCS], under the slogan, For A Better Life and for Socialism Made to Measure of Man, were published in Ljubljana today, thus submitting the program to public discussion. This document, written on about a dozen pages in all, presents 20 concise questions to 3 questions by Slovene Communists: where we are, what we want, and how we are to achieve this. Relja Atanasijevic reports from Ljubljana:

The renewal of the LCS is designed as a response to the new challenges to the crisis of the socialist idea and an ossified party. The draft of the renewal program says that the time for any single, eternal truth has passed. Instead of a one-party rule, political pluralism is coming to the fore; instead of a policy of a conflictless society, a policy of life in common with a wealth of differences appears.

Unfortunately, our society lives in a crisis and in poverty, fearing about tomorrow, and hoping that it will be better. For such a better life, a democratic policy; economic and efficient socialism; a good, stable, and secure society; AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia; and a joining of Europe are needed.

The LCS sees its role in implementing these wishes and aims in the affirmation of every member, in cadre policy, in new methods of political work, in a sensible and flexible organization, and in a new valuation of human rights and the autonomy of man. To put it most concisely, through a democratization of the policy and the realization of the three reforms, the LCS wishes to forge the way to a new socialism of European quality, socialism made to man's measures.

It is expected that an extensive version of the draft program of the LCS Renewal will be prepared by the end of this month and that this version as well will be submitted to public discussion, which will be conducted until July, together with a public discussion of the draft program for the renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Sonja Lokar, executive secretary in the LCS Central Committee, stated that in the second half of the year, the republican and the federal draft programs will be harmonized. The differences on significant questions are very big. In Lokar's opinion, it will be difficult to reach a unity of views on some key issues.

BORBA Views Boycott of Slovene Products

AU0903161989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 89 p 2

[Darko Gorsek commentary: "Emotions Against Income"]

[Text] The news that the workers of the Vulkan rubber combine in Nis have decided, as was announced, to leave the composition of the Kranj Sava plant, as a sign of protest at Slovenia's stand concerning the latest events in Kosovo, is only the manifestation of certain views and proposals that business links should be broken off with this northwestern republic. What culminated in the Vulkan affair was begun by a unique boycott of certain Slovene products.

Perhaps there were confused ideas before, but dissatisfaction with statements by certain Slovene leaders was expressed by the claim that Slovene goods are being bought less and less. In this respect, one should not lose sight of the fact that juices, processed meat products, shirts, and refrigerators, for example, from Slovenia are as a rule more expensive than other similar products. This is because today's general shortage of money and incomes, which become drastically lower than in Slovenia the further south one goes, mean that many people do not look at where these products come from, but how much they cost. Here, quality also loses the battle to poverty .

However, in a country where everything is politics, politics and economics must nevertheless be separated; otherwise we are all in for a hard time. Any overlap of these two fields only shows the immaturity of both of them. Indeed, the consumer has the right to choose what he will buy, which is not disputed and contains the essence of healthy economic relations. As well as the quality and design, the price also comes to the fore, particularly in these inflationary times. If Slovene producers have not realized this, then it will be all the worse for them.

However, even the actual attempts at breaking off business relations because of—to put it mildly—irresponsible statements by individuals point to the possibility of the majority voting for a phenomenon which has already done unimaginable harm by creating closed republican and provincial borders. This is because capital has now found it difficult to cross these borders, even though we have all been aware that, viewed as a whole, we are a small economic market and, no matter how much we boast about individual successes, our goods, particularly those for general consumption, painstakingly find a way to foreign buyers. Therefore, it would be desirable for there to be more sense and less emotion in the economy.

Rail Agreement With Albania To Be Changed

LD0803221189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1928 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 8 (TANJUG)—The Serbian government today assessed as in good order the proposal on launching an initiative for changing the agreement made between the Yugoslav and Albanian Governments on linking the two countries by the railway line.

Such a stand of the Government of Yugoslavia's largest republic came after the two countries' railway enterprises failed to reach an accord over the change of the agreement on organizing traffic on the line, which resulted in losses that now have to be covered.

The Yugoslav section of the railroad is 24 kilometers long and the total length of the railway line is 50 kilometers.

The Serbian government took the stand that part of past year's loss of the railway transportation enterprise Titograd, which maintains the line, should be covered. On the other hand, regarding the covering of the expenses this year and in years to come, the question of usefulness is posed, given that the expected volume of traffic on the line has not been realized.

The Tiograd-Bozaj line was built in the 1983-1986 period on the basis of an inter-state agreement between the two countries. The line is Albania's only railway link with Europe.

The construction costs stood at 20 million dollars while the Yugoslav section was jointly funded by Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces.

Despite the high construction costs, the exploitation of the line barely reaches 15 percent of the planned investment project. Daily traffic on the railway line barely exceeds to two trains with four cars each.

It was assessed that with the present volume of traffic, this year's losses would reach up to some seven billion dinars (7,250 dinars to one dollar).

Front Page of MLADINA Printed in Albanian

AU1003150589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] What does the new edition of MLADINA look like, and what does it contain? The date, number, and price are printed in the Albanian language. A picture of Tito with a traditional Albanian cap on his head appears on the cover.

On the fifth page, MLADINA publishes a geographical map of Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Croatia, entitled United Republics of Western Yugoslavia, and asks the question: Would you like to live in such a state? On the last page, the MLADINA editorial board gives its answer to this question. The answer is no.